CHRISTMAS LISTINGS: BOOKS AND RECORDS

THE NATION

DECEMBER 16, 1961 . . 25c

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Struggle for Tomorrow

Rayford W. Logan

Britain's GUERRILLAS-for-PEACE

James D. Garst

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LETTERS

Hospital Medics

Dear Sirs: The article on "The Young Doctors' Dilemma" in your Nov. 25 issue strikes a familiar note. Almost thirty years ago, we, as beginning members of the medical profession, campaigned on similar lines as outlined by Mr. Buttenwieser. It does not seem that much progress has been made, judging from his article and our own personal experiences in a very active hospital. There does seem to be an urgent need for reconsideration of values and philosophies in the *practice* of medicine, as well as in its early, educative stage.

Many of the author's points are well taken; many, of course, can be answered from various points of view. Nevertheless, Mr. Buttenwieser adds a very intelligent discussion to the ever-growing bibliography concerning the internes' and residents' plight in this country.

SAMUEL BRESLOW, M.D.
Perth Amboy, N.J.

Dear Sirs: I cannot allow Mr. Buttenwieser's essay to go unchallenged.

It is true that internes and residents are underpaid and often (but not always) overworked. This is in no small degree the result of our economic structure and not a consequence of "organized medicine" (about whose actions I hold no illusions)....

Time spent with the patient has never been the most significant criterion for the determination of the cost of medical care. The double standards are not real: does the interne or resident assume that his value to the patient is equal to that of a physician who not only has had equal or better training (in many cases), but also ten, twenty or thirty years or more of clinical experience? I think not!

I do not know of instances in which Blue Shield payments go to physicians who do not care for their patients; if this is so, it is wrong. Patients should have access to physicians who do see and take care of them, and they should not be primarily taken care of by internes and residents in competition with the private physician for the Blue Shield dollar.

In summary, I agree that internes and residents should be paid reasonable wages for their services, and that these should be included as hospital expenses and charged for in the hospital bills. The hospitals and insurance plans must find means of lowering the cost of medical care (such as outpatient, rather than in-patient, care whenever possible). But let's be fair about all this—let's not place all of the blame on physicians—most of whom are trying to do an honest job—and forget about the blame due to society's willingness to pay more for cigarettes and whiskey than they do for their own health.

KENNARD YAFFE, M.D.
Baltimore, Md.

Words and Pictures

Dear Sirs: Once upon a time there was a *writer.*

He was troubled by *photographers* in the same way *pigeons* are troubled by *starlings.* So he sat down to his *typewriter* (technologically unemployed, due to the incursions of a new fangled machine, the *camera*). There he walloped out a *challenging statement,* to wit: "The fact is that almost anybody can take a pretty good picture if he will use as much film as a *L--e* photographer uses and try enough angles and exposures and keep his thumb off the lens" ["Face-Lifting the Giants," by David Cort, issue of Nov. 25].

Pretty sharp, he thought, but who in blazes will publish it? Maybe a magazine that doesn't use photographs? Now, I wonder who that might be.

How about an article by Mr. Cort entitle "Where the Brains Are" (as if we didn't know). While he is busy on that, you could assign one of your good writers to do a job on what is really going on in the magazines today. Photographers, at least, would appreciate it.

New York City PAUL WELLER

[*In case you haven't guessed, Mr. Weller is a professional photographer.* —ED.]

Dear Sirs: In re problems of mass-circulation magazines, David Cort's article bears out a feeling I have had for some time: i.e., in an automated society, mediocrity ascends to the next highest level. Thus we find editors replaced by photographers and art directors; content (thought and direction) is replaced by form (linotypes and cameras). Devices take the place of imagination because the printed word is the rock on which the mind comes to smash.

GEORGE KAUFFMAN
Berkeley, Calif.

Critique of the Press

Dear Sirs: I am engaged in research for a book on the U.S. press and its influence and responsibility in shaping American opinion in the cold-war era. Any articles, speeches, surveys, news clippings or leads to analytical research projects, especially as they concern foreign-news coverage and civil liberties at home, will be gratefully received, credited and returned on request. Address: *National Guardian,* 197 E. 4th St., N.Y.C. 19 JAMES ARONSON

Required Reading

Dear Sirs: Thank you for your brilliant and perceptive reporting on the folly of fallout shelters [Nov. 4 issue]. It should be required reading for every college student in the United States.

DENNIS G. KUBY
Theological School
Canton, N.Y. St. Lawrence University

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1961
VOLUME 193, No. 21

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Birth Pains in Katanga

One may sympathize with those who wring their hands over the situation in the Congo, without sharing their hopelessness. The situation may indeed grow even worse. The United Nations is trying to avert chaos in a primitive African country which was, as it were, destined for chaos by the Europeans who failed to prepare it for nationhood and abandoned it to its fate when the going got rough. But abandoned only the poorer part: they tried, and they are still trying, to hold onto the rich part. This is the root of the evil. Illiteracy, ignorance, inexperience, tribal passions, soldiery without discipline and East-West rivalries only contribute to the hideous confusion. Without the underlying conspiracy, the Congo, despite these handicaps, might already be on the way to solving its most urgent problems, as other African nations are doing.

In a desperate situation, a strong personality breaks through the normal reticences of conventional life. The ground-breaker at the present juncture in the Congo is Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. The fauna he let out of the bag are not pleasant to behold, but the revelations, which involved the sacrifice of a career, are a service to the U.N. and to mankind. Belgium has been the villain in this drama of mining riches defended by European mercenaries, the "African elite" of Moise Tshombe, and the pawns of that elite; Dr. O'Brien now adds Britain and France. When Dr. O'Brien was sent to Katanga by Dag Hammarskjold in June to carry out the resolution of the Security Council calling for a removal of foreign troops and officers from the Katanga Army, he found more than 500 foreign soldiers, including 200 officers of the Belgian Army. But these mercenaries were not serving only their Belgian masters. The situation in the Haut Katanga was also to the liking of the masked imperialists of France and Britain; and the latter, perhaps even more than the Belgians, were out to get O'Brien or anyone else who tried to expel the mercenaries and open the way for a Congolese federation. They succeeded and, as Dr. O'Brien puts it, they were "not unduly fastidious about the methods they employed." The blood of the Congolese and the United Nations soldiers and civilians — including Hammarskjold — who lost their lives in the Congo is largely on their hands. "Servants of the [U.N.] organization trying to carry out these tasks on behalf of the Security Council," says Dr. O'Brien, "are squeezed out by members of the Council itself." Rarely has hypocrisy attained greater heights.

But neither has heroism. No praise is adequate to describe the heroism which Europeans and Americans, Africans and Asians, have shown in the Congo. Surely it is an occasion for mourning that the lives of so many of the best and bravest have been lost, but if there is to be a better world it will be eternally in their debt. Nothing could be clearer than the fact that only a disarmed world can survive. It is equally plain that when the nations no longer threaten one another with armies and bombs and rockets, an international force will be required to keep the peace. That force is being forged in the Congo.

Good Lawyer – Bad Brief

Adlai Stevenson's forensic talents are great, but in the endeavor to keep Red China out of the United Nations (please, God, for just one more year!) he is making almost as bad a spectacle of himself as when he denied that the United States was intervening in Cuba. The response in the Assembly is exactly what it should be — no one really takes us seriously any more except Chiang Kai-shek's hornswogglers, who claim to represent the "Republic of China." Typical nonpartisan reactions are those of Sweden and Ceylon. Both opposed the American attempt to have the China issue declared an "important question," requiring a two-thirds majority for decision. This filibuster tactic is

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probably the only hope of forestalling what Mr. Stevenson, playing the role of a hired advocate, is trying desperately to avoid.

But Agda Rossel, the Swedish Ambassador, points out that if a two-thirds vote is required to put the Communists in China's U.N. seat, a two-thirds vote should be required to keep the Nationals there. ". . . Communist China is qualified to be in the United Nations," Mrs. Rossel says. Ceylon's Ambassador Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekera accuses the United States of maintaining a dictatorship on Taiwan while denouncing the dictatorship on the mainland. "Is the [Nationalist] regime on Taiwan a democracy?" he asks. The "catalog of aggression," read against the Peking regime by Stevenson, he denounced as "dog-eared." Stevenson cited Chinese intervention in the Korean War as a reason for keeping China out. "Did [the U.S.] express enthusiasm for a seat for Peking before the Korean War?" Malalasekera asks. "I might suggest that the Korean War might not have happened if China had been in the United Nations at the time. . . . The United States is waging war against the Chinese people. It is a blockade. . . . My delegation thinks that the wall of hatred around China cannot help the security of America. . . . Communist China is sure to have nuclear weapons eventually . . . if it were in the United Nations, we might be able to stave it off."

That the Chinese Reds are often blindly intransigent is undeniable. They are proving it at the moment by renewing their offensive on the northern border of India. (This worthless territory, incidentally, is claimed by Chiang Kai-shek's regime as well, but the fact does not make the Peking moves less stupid and deplorable.) But that Peking is uniformly aggressive is as false as the notion that it represents pristine Asian virtue. In Geneva, for instance, the fourteen-nation Laotian conference has reached a precarious but welcome agreement on a coalition government. The United States and Red China join in hailing the agreement as a big step toward peace. Averell Harriman, scarcely a lover of Communists, played an important role in the negotiations. Where does that leave Adlai Stevenson's thesis that the Chinese Reds are devils incarnate and the U.N. must keep them out until they sprout wings?

Enemy Within

On December 5, the John Birch Society's campaign to capture control of the Los Angeles County Young Republicans (4,500 strong) was crowned with success; the Birchite slate made a clean sweep of all offices. The victory virually insures that the Birchites will now succeed in capturing control of the state-wide organization. This is bad news for Mr. Nixon and Senator Thomas Kuchel. In the past, both men counted heavily on the Young Republicans to provide the indispensable "muscle" needed in political campaigns — the precinct workers and volunteers. But they can count on them no more, for in Birchite circles both Mr. Nixon and Senator Kuchel are at the moment regarded as "com-symps." The Birchite triumph, it should be noted, was not solely a product of conspiratorial activity. Even if the society had not run a slate, quite apparently the Young Republican leadership would have been chosen— as one Elder Statesman of the party put it — "strictly along conservative political lines, because nowadays that is the way these people think."

But what is bad news for Mr. Nixon and other "moderate" Republicans is very good news for Gov. Brown and other liberal Democrats. Not only will Mr. Nixon have to cope with a Young Republican organization controlled by Birchites, but the lucky Democrats are insured complete immunity from this same deadly virus. For in the eyes of the radical Right, the Democratic Party, being committed to the income tax and similar subversive measures, is virtually "socialistic" and therefore to be avoided like the plague. This happy circumstance, in turn, makes it possible for Gov. Brown to shellac the Birchites — and what a wonderful target they make! — with every assurance that he will not lose a single vote in the process. In a word, the Birchites are right: there *is* an "enemy within" — within, that is, the GOP.

The Regurgitation Index

Television has stumbled upon a new operating principle that may be called the regurgitation index. No measuring device the industry had hitherto employed was programed to react to quality of content, but the ABC network discovered on an evening early this month that, if it steadily lowered a serial show toward an ideal of absolute vulgarity, there came a point at which affiliated stations began to vomit. This, at last, provides a base below which the operation is not successful; it establishes what a survey engineer can recognize as a qualitative norm.

The illuminating incident, which may have some historical importance, was the broadcast on December 3 of "A Lion Walks Among Us," that Sunday's chapter of *Bus Stop* (not to be confused with William Inge's play of that name; he merely sold the title for commercial exploitation). The hero of the evening was Fabian, a rock 'n' roll singer cast dramatically as a degenerate who murders people for kicks. The show received almost universal condemnation from the critics on Monday morning; but that attack, though unusually severe, would have established no new principle — the vomiting of critics is a phenomenon that broadcasting has learned to ignore. But during the day, word came from Boston, New Haven, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Columbus and

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other cities across the country that local stations to a total of fifteen had declined to transmit Fabian's hip-swiveling homicide. Sponsors abhor a vacuum in the night (particularly in a Sunday night); networks do not get paid for material that is scrapped, and ABC now knows just how low television can fall before it has to get better.

Myopic Bombardiers

Two syndicated columnists, John Crosby and Marquis Childs, have recently had something to say about the Air Force Association, a superheated patriotic-commercial organization whose convention last September was marked by at least one patriotic fist fight and some drunken antics by Air Force brass and their beloved brethren in the aerospace industry. Childs gives the figures on the A.F.A.'s income: 75 per cent of it comes directly from the aerospace and electronic industries. The result, Childs writes, "is a powerful combination of the flyboys and the men who make the manned aircraft and the missiles." Crosby, who writes for the New York *Herald Tribune*, among other papers, similarly asserts that the association is supported by the missile industry. While not disputing the figures, the A.F.A. feels gravely maligned by Mr. Crosby's animadversions and retorts that if A.F.A. can be said to be supported by the missile industry, largely through advertising in A.F.A. publications, so is Mr. Crosby supported by Macy's and Gimbel's. This seems to betray a myopia which one would not expect among the eagle-eyed warriors of the Air Force, even the retired ones. To the ordinary American intelligence, there is a rather basic difference between girdles and household furnishings on the one hand and the hydrogen warheads, intercontinental missiles and hypersonic aircraft which the sponsors of the A.F.A. press on the Congress and the Administration and the taxpayers in ever-increasing quantities. There is also a basic difference between businesses which scrounge for their sales, and those which feed at the public trough and never seem to get their fill.

But the iron really enters the Air Force Association's soul at the point where Mr. Crosby refers to "one of the most arrogant, jingoistic, and downright alarming recent military utterances" which the association put out in its September policy statement. "Complete eradication of the Soviet system must be our national goal — our obligation to all free people," Crosby quotes, and the December issue of A.F.A.'s *Air Force and Space Digest* demurs editorially because Crosby did not add the rest of the sentence: ". . . our promise of hope to all who are not free." Besides, the editorial complains, this isn't jingoistic at all — Crosby has drawn an unwarranted conclusion. The association called only for eradication of the Soviet *system*, not for "eradication of Russia, or of Red China, or of the Russian or Chinese peoples, nor does it call for war or any overt act against any of these." The Soviet system is apparently to be knocked over with leaflets and ping-pong balls. The A.F.A. will not touch a hair of a Soviet head; it is indeed, overflowing with love for these victims of a wicked system, many of whom, strangely, don't at all seem to mind living under it.

"Obsessive fear of war can destroy this nation, as we know it," *Air Force* concludes, "just as surely, if more slowly, than can war itself." The fear of war can be rational as well as obsessive. The promotion of war can be obsessive — and profitable. The Air Force Association might better be concerned with its own motives and misdeeds than with the criticism its policy statement evoked, and got in much smaller measure than it deserved.

Britain's Guerrillas-for-Peace . . *by James D. Garst*

London, December 8

A DETERMINED group of Britons, adopting nonviolent civil disobedience as its method, is breaking new ground in the four-year-old campaign here against nuclear weapons. Acting impartially against British, American, Soviet and French weapons, they declare, "All bombs are bad."

JAMES D. GARST, an American writer living in Britain, is at work on a book about the nuclear disarmament movements.

Called into action by the year-old Committee of 100, these people—ordinary and extraordinary—have since February conducted seven major actions of disobedience. A new wave of demonstrations, scheduled for Saturday, December 9, will involve three U.S. Air Force installations and a British military base.

Here's the record of nonviolent sit-downs to date, with the number arrested on each occasion:

¶Bayswater Road, London, near Soviet Embassy, Oct. 21: 512.

¶Trafalgar Square, London, Sept. 17: 1,314.

¶The Holy Loch, Scotland (American Polaris submarine base), Sept. 16-17: 351.

¶Near American Embassy, London, Sept. 6: 146.

¶Near Soviet Embassy, London, Aug. 31: 130.

¶Whitehall, London, April 29: 826.

¶Defense Ministry, London, Feb. 18: no arrests.

The Committee's president is eighty-nine-year-old Bertrand Rus-

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sell. A number of other prominent Britons are committee members: Sir Herbert Read, poet; Lord Boyd Orr, former secretary-general of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization; Rev. Michael Scott, champion of African independence at the U.N.; and, until his recent death, Augustus John, painter. Somewhat younger is a group of theatre and literary folk: John Osborne, John Braine, Shelagh Delaney and Vanessa Redgrave. The balance of the Committee is composed of more ordinary people—among them teachers, a union shop steward, a folk-singer, and a sheet-metal worker. In all, there are now more than 100 members of the Committee, whose composition constantly fluctuates as some members go into temporary retirement to avoid stiff legal penalties and as others volunteer to fill the gaps.

The thousands of supporters who sit down with the Committee against the bomb have up till now been drawn broadly from the middle classes, historically the mainstay of British social protest. A recently established industrial subcommittee is now working to muster support in the docks and factories. But above all it has been the youth of Britain's first postwar generation who have supplied the Committee with its support.

The British have good reason to be intensely aware of their susceptibility to nuclear attack. Their country has an area something less than Oregon, with a population of 52 million. The government's 1957 Defense White Paper estimated that twelve large H-bombs would "inflict widespread devastation" on the country, and acknowledged that "there is at present no means of providing adequate protection for the people of this country against the consequences of an attack by nuclear weapons."

These official declarations marked the beginning of a rising public consciousness which led in 1958 to the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and its giant Aldermaston marches at Easter.

THE CURRENT policy of C.N.D., which is shared by the Committee of 100, advocates that Britain unilaterally cease to manufacture, store, or test nuclear weapons. Along with this, Britain would withdraw from NATO and terminate U.S. rocket, air and Polaris submarine bases. Unilateralists argue that such a policy would free Britain to join with the nonaligned countries to put forward to both America and Russia policies which could provide the basis of multilateral disarmament talks.

By 1960, three Aldermaston marches showed C.N.D. to have grown into the greatest mass movement since the Chartists demanded political reforms in the 1830s and 1840s. It had won world-wide attention. But Britain still held on to its own bombs, and supported American nuclear air and rocket bases. Some in C.N.D. began to think something more than marching had to be tried.

Foremost among them was Ralph Schoenman, a fringe-bearded, crew-cut American with intense brown eyes. A Princeton graduate, he had come to the London School of Economics to do post-graduate work. He wrote a manifesto which was destined to become the charter of the Committee of 100. It urged formation of a committee of at least that number of prominent personalities in British public life who would pledge themselves to a campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience directed to unilateral nuclear disarmament. At least 2,000 participants would be asked to follow their lead, each giving a signed pledge of his willingness to be arrested.

SCHOENMAN secured Lord Russell's enthusiasm at a very early stage. Soon the Committee was in being, and Schoenman traveled the length and breadth of Britain lining up support, working largely from contacts in the C.N.D. Twice imprisoned for his activities, Schoenman, now twenty-six, was ordered to leave Britain by the end of November. That deadline passed with the matter still under review by the Home Office.

In the Committee's first demonstration, about 4,000 participants marched on February 18 from Trafalgar Square down Whitehall to the Defense Ministry, about half a mile away. They sat quietly on the sidewalk for about three hours in symbolic protest against Britain's nuclear policy. Lord Russell had come with a proclamation which he wanted, after the fashion of Martin Luther, to nail to the door of the Ministry. A civil servant objected to the scarring of the door with a nail. In typical British fashion, Lord Russell compromised by accepting a strip of Scotch tape with which to affix his proclamation. No arrests were made.

THE second action, in late April, had as its goal the "occupation" of Parliament Square, a small park by the Houses of Parliament. The object was to defy the law by holding a public meeting there. Perhaps 2,000 demonstrators set out along the now-familiar path from Trafalgar Square along Whitehall. They were hemmed in five abreast by a cordon of policemen, and were eventually stopped several hundred yards short of their goal. In accordance with their briefing instructions, they immediately sat down.

More than 800 were arrested, most going limp as they were carried into vehicles to be taken off to specially convened courts. At least an equal number were hauled by the police off the road to the sidewalks. The largest mass arrest up to that time in modern British history, it showed the police unwilling to allow their resources to be overstrained or to allow the courts to be clogged. It marked the first application of "selective" justice as a means for combatting the sitters—a strategy which has since been intensified.

The Committee next planned to spread its operations to Scotland with an attempted weekend blockage of the American Polaris submarine base at the Holy Loch, thirty miles west of Glasgow. Coordinated with this was a second attempt to hold a public meeting in Parliament Square.

Meanwhile, first the Soviet Union and then the United States announced their intentions to resume nuclear testing. The news was in London's morning newspapers. By evening of both days, the Committee had organized small emergency sit-downs as near both Embassies as police would permit. In both cases, all the sitters were arrested. The following day a delegation argued its protest for more than an hour with

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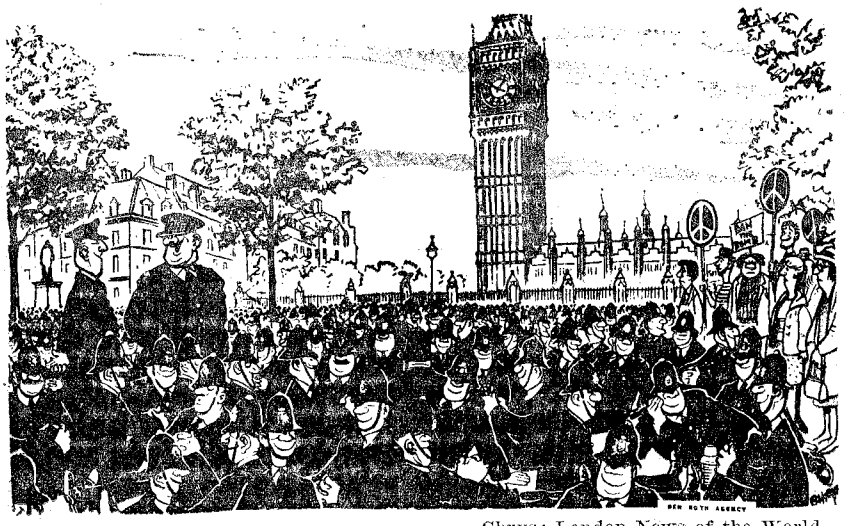

Chrys: London News of the World

"Damn Good Idea of Yours, Clinkworth!"

Ambassador Aleksander Soldatov.

The renewed tests and the mounting tension over Berlin set the scene for the Committee's biggest action to date, on September 17.

Duplicating the pattern of the April protest, a public meeting was to be held in Trafalgar Square, followed by an attempted march to Parliament Square and a second meeting. Those participating were to carry on until stopped by police; to sit down in a body at the first resistance from the police; to neither resist nor cooperate in any ensuing arrests.

The police answer came directly from the top level of British Government. With the permission of the Home Secretary, the London police issued a proclamation under a statute enacted in 1936 to curb Fascist activities. The edict forbade the Committee to hold any meeting of any kind in Trafalgar Square, or any other part of a one-square-mile area of central London on September 17. It could have subjected anyone showing up in Trafalgar Square—either as avowed sit-downer or innocent spectator—to three months in jail or £50 fine (about $140).

Five days before the demonstration, thirty-seven members of the Committee appeared before a London magistrate, charged with inciting the public to commit breaches of peace and law. Under a statute of 1361, each was offered the opportunity to escape prosecution by being bound over and guaranteeing to be of "good behavior"—thus ceasing to lead or advocate the plans of the Committee. Five reluctantly accepted the option. The others refused. Lord Russell and his wife, Lady Edith, each received seven days in jail, reduced from two months because of their frail health. Three of the committee, including George Clark, its chief marshal, and Ralph Schoenman, received two months. The others drew one month, among them the Rev. Michael Scott and playwright Arnold Wesker.

Lord Russell told the magistrate: "If you condemn us, you will be helping our cause and therefore helping humanity. While life remains to us, we will not cease to do what lies in our power to avert the greatest calamity that has ever threatened mankind."

The places on the Committee left vacant by imprisonment were quickly filled by prearranged "shadow" members.

DESPITE the jailings, more than 5,000 came to Trafalgar Square for the banned demonstrations. Perhaps *because* of the jailings, another 25,000 mobbed the square to witness the proceedings.

The first police resistance was encountered when, shortly after 5 P.M., several Committee marshals began to read in the thronged square a declaration by Lord Russell. They were arrested. The other participants then began their sit-down. Among those subsequently arrested were John Osborne, the "angry young man" acting out nonviolently in real life the kind of compulsive fury against conformity and the bomb which Jimmy Porter voiced in Osborne's first play, *Look Back in Anger*. With him were playwright Shelagh Delaney and actress Vanessa Redgrave, both shy of twenty-five.

The police were confronted with a choice of strategies—to concentrate their efforts on arresting the thousands sitting in open defiance of the proclamation, or to disperse the even greater number of spectators who were blocking one of London's major traffic confluences.

They adopted the latter strategy. Only those sitters were arrested who—by design or accident—managed to occupy a street or a curb. With a few exceptions, police treated the sitters gently, at this stage, lifting and carrying them in pairs to waiting vehicles. By 10 P.M., the merely curious spectators had been peacefully dispersed, leaving thousands illegally sitting in the square and other thousands of sympathetic nonsitters still circulating around the perimeter. At this point, the police extended (with doubtful legality, since they had not obtained the necessary consent from the Home Secretary) the proclamation for an additional twenty-four hours.

Committee marshals decided to recommend that each participant decide for himself whether to leave at midnight, or to maintain until morning a seated vigil in defiance of the extended proclamation. The great majority decided to leave, and at midnight marched in ordered columns out of Trafalgar Square. The few hundred remaining were abruptly dragged—no longer carried—off to police vehicles. The numbers were no longer beyond the ability of the police to deal with, and in any event police patience had been worn thin by the toil of the preceding seven hours.

There still remained a band of diehard kids who sat down under Lord Nelson's Column. Police seized them indiscriminately by an arm or leg and dragged them off sometimes fifty yards or more on their backs.

The great sit-down was over.

These late, short, sharp actions gave rise to most of the charges of police brutality that have since come to light. The limits of nonviolent police response to nonviolent protests had been plumbed. The Na-

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tional Civil Liberties Council demanded a public investigation, so far denied (although police authorities are still conducting an internal investigation). The Committee has refused, as a matter of principle, to initiate protests or legal counteraction in its own name, contending that by voluntarily abandoning the law in its anti-bomb protests, it has no right to invoke the law in its defense.

THE SCOTTISH counterpart of the September Trafalgar Square sit-down encountered its severest opposition from the vagaries of British weather. At the Holy Loch, 351 demonstrators reached the Polaris sub base, and were duly arrested. Another 1,000 would-be protestors had been marooned all week-end on ferries in the Firth of Clyde's gale-swept waters.

In the aftermath, most of those arrested in Trafalgar Square were charged with "obstruction" and fined between 10 shillings and £2 ($1.40 and $5.60). Three Committee leaders were convicted of inciting people to take part in an illegal procession and were assessed fines and costs totaling £51 (about $133). The fines in Scotland were higher, reaching up to £10 ($28) for ordinary sitters. Because of her large number of previous convictions, Pat Arrowsmith, leader of the Holy Loch contingent, was given a three-month jail sentence.

The most recent Committee action was aimed at protesting the Soviet announcement of its impending test of a 50-megaton H-bomb. About 700 marchers intended to stand in a main road near the Soviet Embassy in a one-hour silent vigil. When the police prevented them from reaching their intended goal, they sat down, and the entire road was blocked while they were arrested and carried off to courts.

A substantial number of those fined in all the demonstrations to date have refused to pay. The courts have been gradually catching up with them, to exact jail sentences. They have been taken in batches spaced so as not to overtax the British jails, already crowded above capacity. To forestall this piecemeal dispensation of justice, the Committee is trying to get at least 1,000 volunteers in this month's demonstrations to refuse to give their names or addresses, or to pay fines. This would force the government to hold all such participants in jail on remand, or abandon enforcement of the law in their cases. Either alternative would, the Committee believes, lead to a public outcry.

Plans for December 9 [this issue went to press on Dec. 8.—Ed.] are the most ambitious yet. Seven demonstrations throughout the country are planned. Three will be against U.S. Air Force installations, including an attempt to immobilize American bombers. Other regional Committees, all organized since September, are planning sit-downs at York, Manchester and Cardiff. A legal public forum is being organized in Bristol; a sit-down will ensue only if officials continue to refuse permission to hold it and police try to prevent a meeting.

TO DATE, government strategy has been to arrest and to invoke administrative prohibition—both futilely. Its arrests have left many guilty sitters behind; its prohibition undoubtedly turned out many thousands of curious spectators to the September demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

Undoubtedly, broad considerations of Britain's foreign policy play a part in its policy of meeting the Committee of 100's strategy. Drew Middleton reported in *The New York Times:*

> The Government continues to take the demonstration calmly—too much so, according to some Conservative and Labor politicians.... The Cabinet see no need to organize any counter-propaganda campaign. To do so, the Ministers have reasoned, would encourage foreign critics to believe that Britain had been frightened by Premier Khrushchev's threats of nuclear attack if the Berlin crisis deteriorated into war.
>
> Some politicians contend that the Government's attitude is dangerously complacent.

The fact is that no government can stand aside when a protest movement effectively flouts even the meanest of national laws. As a police sergeant said, in the wake of the Committee's protest against the Soviet 50-megaton explosion: "We've got to maintain law and order, you know."

Operations of the Committee of 100 are planned by a volunteer "working group," most of them drawn from the less prominent members. It maintains a small office in London, where a file of sympathizers now totals several score thousands. Liaison with the sympathizers is maintained through neighborhood convenors. Shadow leaders have been designated to take over in the event of a police swoop.

Each demonstration is conducted by a group of marshals, acting in accordance with the broad Committee principle of "the discipline of nonviolence." This is the only requirement laid down for participation, and individuals are free to accept or reject marshals' "recommendations."

The style of operation owes much to Gandhi and to the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., though the Committee is still struggling to translate their methods to the British scene. Gandhi depended upon mass tacit support among the Indians. The British bomb-banners do not yet enjoy an equivalent support; a recent poll in Britain showed only about 20 per cent of the public supporting unilateralism.

The sit-ins and freedom rides in the South have also been effectively used here to justify civil disobedience against the bomb. But, while the Negroes, by their very deed, are achieving their primary goal, Britons sitting down in a public square are still a long way from banning H-bombs.

BOTH the Committee's leaders and its supporters are in deep disagreement about the ultimate application of nonviolent civil disobedience to their goal. Some see it as the beginning of a new way of life, a new society, a new form of politics. Others see it as merely a more effective political tactic.

Britain is outstandingly a nonviolent society in the modern world. Its police carry no firearms. It has produced Utopian visionaries like John Ruskin and William Morris. Many unilateralists thus come very easily to nonviolence as a way of life

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— the logical consequence of nonviolence as a means of protest.

There is a deep resonance in sympathy with this chord of thought among British youth. A deep-flowing antipathy to the parliamentary system runs in some of them, starting with the system's seeming inability or unwillingness to meet the chronic and ultimate threat of nuclear extinction. Some among the postwar generation also rebel against the fixed class divisions of British society, the drabness of life measured against American or other Europeans', the stodginess of the alternatives offered by the Labour Party. All these frustrations are symbolized in the fight against the bomb. The confluence of all these ideas motivates the dominant leaders of the Committee.

None the less, a number of Committee supporters believe sitting down to be simply a more advanced application of political tactics. They adhere to the necessity of coupling civil disobedience with continued and more intense work in the Labour Party and in the trade unions which, through their bloc vote, dominate the formation of party policy.

A SECOND line splits those who regard nonviolent civil disobedience as a means of breaking the publicity barrier from those who believe its logic is to prevent the operation of government. Lord Russell's statements have concentrated on the publicity theme. Before being sentenced in September, he told the court: "Nonviolent civil disobedience was forced upon us by the fact that it was more fully reported than other methods of making the facts known."

The story of the sit-downs and arrests has been widely reported, but the full case for British unilateral nuclear disarmament has rarely accompanied it, and the underlying editorial bias is almost unanimously against. Lord Russell's public statements have done little to conciliate the public opinion formed in these circumstances. From jail, during the early days of the Berlin crisis, he issued this statement:

> Along with valued colleagues I am to be silenced for a time—perhaps forever, for who can tell how soon the great massacre will take place?
>
> The populations of East and West, misled by stubborn governments in search of prestige and by corrupt official experts bent on retaining their posts, tamely acquiesce in policies which are almost certain to end in nuclear war. . . . You, your families, your friends, and your countries are to be exterminated by the common decision of a few brutal but powerful men.

In the words of one sympathizer, these implications are "beyond common belief." Back came Lord Russell's unruffled reply: "I have discovered that only when my statements appear unbridled do they command attention."

People who actually encounter the sitters resist the unilateralism the latter advocate with a variety of defenses. "We've got to have the bombs if the Russians do, don't we?" Or, "It'll never be used, anyhow." Or, "We lived through the Jerry bombs"—not understanding that nuclear warfare is utterly different. Or a submerged belief, rarely expressed outright, that the bomb gives Britain a prestige to make up for its lost empire. Or, finally, an even more deeply submerged fear, so powerful that it stops thought: "It's too much for me. I don't see what we can do about it."

SOME Committee leaders and supporters believe its tactics should be directed less toward influencing public opinion and more toward the Gandhian objective of a complete paralysis of the administrative machinery of government. They think sit-down targets should be selected with this goal in mind — a nuclear weapons base rather than a public square of merely symbolic value, for example. They aim to fill the jails to overflowing, to clog the channels of justice. They talk of gaining enough support to call a general strike against the bomb.

Despite sophisticated cleavages of opinion about end and means, there is a solid core of agreement among the sitters. All of them will tell you the Committee is confronting authority — the authority of a government which maintains nuclear weapons and a nuclear strategy in Britain. They are, they will say, demonstrating to convince their countrymen, and the world, that such a policy is wrong, that it is the policy of simultaneous suicide and genocide.

They hope to demonstrate their belief by the act; above all, by being willing to sacrifice — with Gandhi, to suffer — for their deeds. As one of them puts it: "If they are determined to use their bomb, they'll do it with me in jail."

The Committee's activities have been supported by the bulk of C.N.D., Britain's older and more conventional "ban-the-bomb" organization. The C.N.D.'s leader, Canon L. John Collins, precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, has from the begining dissociated himself from the Committee's commitment to civil disobedience. As a consequence, Bertrand Russell resigned his presidency of C.N.D. shortly after he accepted the presidency of the Committee of 100. Despite this, local C.N.D. groups, operating with great autonomy, have offered considerable moral support to the Committee of 100 demonstrations.

C.N.D. and the Committee maintain a liaison committee, and relations between the organizations are governed by a resolution adopted by C.N.D. at its annual meeting last February dissociating C.N.D. from civil disobedience, but acknowledging the right of unilateralists to engage in it. Canon Collins, at a public meeting in September, said, "Some march with the Canon, some sit with Russell, and many do both. It is up to the individual to decide." More recently, he published an article describing civil disobedience as a "positive hindrance" to the unilateral nuclear-disarmament movement.

Engendered largely by the example of the British Committee, similar groups have been set up in Norway, Holland and Italy, where anti-nuclear sit-downs have already taken place. Similar movements are springing up in Belgium and West Germany. Several British Committee leaders hint at support in Russia and Eastern Europe.

The Committee of 100 is a very small — though still growing — minority in Great Britain. Its supporters are challenging a democratically constituted government to overrule them on an issue with which it has not before in history been confronted: human survival.

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Dominican Republic: *Struggle for Tomorrow*

. . by Rayford W. Logan

RAFAEL LEONIDAS TRUJILLO Y MOLINA was dictator of the Dominican Republic for almost thirty-one years. The chaos which frequently follows the end of a dictatorship developed slowly after his assassination on May 30, 1961. At the end of November, tank-supported combat troops hurled tear gas and noise bombs at demonstrators who tried to storm the iron-grilled gates of the National Palace. United States ships and planes patrolled the Caribbean just outside the territorial limits of the Republic, where a general strike had virtually brought the economy to a halt. The Dominican Desk in the State Department was in disarray. Chester Bowles, whom President Kennedy had only recently named his special adviser on Asian, African and Latin American Affairs, was vacationing in the Caribbean. President Joaquín Balaguer of the Dominican Republic stated on November 30 that the rejection of his proposal for an interim junta might lead to "disaster and a new dictatorship, perhaps worse" than that of the Generalissimo, Rafael Trujillo. The United States was desperately striving to prevent the second stage of a familiar pattern: "After Caesar, chaos; after chaos, Caesar."

The official policy of the United States in the Dominican Republic at the beginning of December had the following aims: (1) to help, as much as possible, a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democratic government; (2) to permit the reincorporation of the Republic in the inter-American system; (3) to promote steps which would enable its people to achieve their aspirations for a better life without resorting either to a right-wing or to a Communist-inspired dictatorship. The State Department hoped to further these aims by OAS removal of the sanctions which that organization had imposed upon the Dominican Republic, and thus prepare the way for the renewal by the United States and other members of the OAS of diplomatic relations. President Balaguer's failure to provide the peaceful transition from dictatorship to democratic government caused the postponement, perhaps temporarily, of both goals.

The failure of the United States, as of early December, to establish a democratic government in the Dominican Republic and to ameliorate the plight of the people has deep roots not only there but elsewhere in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean. The Platt Amendment (1901) gave the United States, among other rights, that of intervening "for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." President Theodore Roosevelt's famous "corollary to the Monroe Doctrine" (1904) declared that "In the Western Hemisphere . . . the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States . . . to the exercise of an international police power."

By 1933, the United States policy of intervention—Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman had written the classic indictment in their *Dollar Diplomacy*, 1928—was clearly "worse than a crime; it was a blunder." A customs receivership, established in 1905 in the Dominican Republic, paved the way for increased American financial control, the creation of a United States military government in the period 1916-1924, and the ensuing instability which enabled Trujillo to seize power in 1930. A customs receivership established in Nicaragua in 1909 led to armed intervention, 1912-1933; armed intervention in Haiti lasted from 1915 to 1934. In Cuba, United States civil governments and armed interventions produced the ruthless dictatorship of Gerardo Machado which the United States finally eased out of power in August, 1933.

Relatively few Americans, unless they were readers of *The Nation* and other "radical" journals, knew what was going on at their back door. This era, however, is better known to many Latin Americans than the good intentions of the United States which followed it.

PRESIDENT Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his 1933 inaugural address, formalized these new intentions, initiated in part by President Hoover. Roosevelt stated: "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of agreements in and with a world of neighbors." And at the Seventh International Conference of American States in Montevideo, 1933, we committed ourselves to the principle that "no state has the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of another state."

But what constitutes intervention? The use of armed force within a country, obviously. After 1933, however, the United States increasingly exercised control over Latin American nations in various ways—through economic and cultural imperialism, and diplomatic and military support given "friendly" governments whether or not they were dictatorships.

So powerful was the United States in the Western Hemisphere that even its refusal to use armed forces against a government was rightly interpreted as a form of "favorable" intervention. This "hands-off" policy helped to prolong the dictatorships of Perón in Argentina, Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela, Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, Magloire in Haiti, Batista in Cuba and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. The policy still helps dictators—Duvalier in Haiti, Luis Somoza in Nicaragua and Stroessner in Paraguay—to remain in power. Younger generations of Latin Americans do not need to be reminded by their elders of the days of "Dollar Diplomacy," of armed intervention by "The Colossus of the

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North"; large numbers of these younger generations have suffered imprisonments and beatings by American-supported dictators. The number of people killed by these latter may never be known.

From 1933 to 1954 the United States, on the whole, refrained from armed intervention in Latin America. In the latter year, fear of Russian armed support of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala led the United States to provide enough arms and ammunition for his overthrow by the opposition. The action aroused widespread criticism in Latin America.

The overthrow of Batista by Castro on January 1, 1959, confronted the United States with an even graver dilemma than in Guatemala. Castro increasingly gave evidence of interfering in the affairs of his neighbors, especially Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. He signed trade agreements with Russia, China and Poland. President Kennedy, who inherited the Cuban dilemma from Eisenhower, committed one of the major blunders in the modern history of the United States when he authorized the abortive expedition against Castro.

IT IS EASY to understand, then, why the United States has moved cautiously since the assassination of Generalissimo Trujillo. Moreover, Trujillo had been no Castro. Until the late 1950s, the United States government and businessmen cordially embraced the dictator who had caused to be killed, jailed, exiled or silenced into sycophantic support practically all known opponents. Occasional outbursts in the United States condemned him, notably after the disappearance from New York City in 1956 of Dr. Jesús Galíndez, one of the most vehement of his exiled critics, and of a young American aviator who allegedly had flown Galíndez to the Dominican Republic. But Trujillo's tight dictatorship invited American capitalists to invest freely without fear of expropriation or of revolution. He granted the United States a missile-tracking station. He ran full-page advertisements in prominent American newspapers which proclaimed, "No Time for Communism." He had liquidated the debt to American capitalists and had

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measurably ameliorated the plight of some of the people. Trujillo was the example, par excellence, of the wisdom of United States policy in supporting a dictator. The Good Neighbor policy apparently needed no armed intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Early in 1960, however, Trujillo became jittery. The overthrow of Pérez Jiménez and of Batista evoked hope among Trujillo's opponents that the sixty-nine-year-old Generalissimo would soon have to relinquish control. He knew that no member of his family could maintain his ruthless dictatorship. In June, 1959, a group of Dominican exiles, aided by Cubans, landed on the Dominican coast, but Trujillio's forces quickly rounded them up. In January, competent observers felt reasonably sure that the end of the long night was nigh: Trujillo's secret police discovered the classic "plot" to overthrow him. The Catholic hierarchy in the Dominican Republic, which had been one of the staunchest supporters of his dictatorship, belatedly proclaimed "the inviolable dignity of the human person" and "the rights of all men to freedom of conscience, of the press, and of assembly."

Washington also was jittery. At a meeting of the OAS in San José, Costa Rica, in August, 1960, the United States sought approval for a plan to supervise elections and furnish a caretaker force during the transition period. Rejecting this proposal because it constituted "intervention," the OAS accused Trujillo of "acts of aggression and intervention" against Venezuela and urged all members to break diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic and recommended limited economic sanctions, including a ban on all shipment of arms. Relations between the United States and the Dominican Republic rapidly deteriorated during the last days of Eisenhower's administration.

The Kennedy Administration had only four months to devise a new policy before Trujillo was assassinated on May 30. But it had almost six months more before it was forced to take action. Whatever action it took would almost certainly be proclaimed "intervention" by some Latin American governments and by the Soviet bloc. The new Administration, thrown off balance by the April debacle in Cuba and faced with a series of crises in Berlin, Bizerte, the Congo and elsewhere, probably hoped for a miracle in the Dominican Republic. This substitution of hope for a policy is not uncommon when a nation is overextended. *Qui trop embrasse, mal étreint.*

THE Dominican Republic increasingly slipped out of the "embrace" of the United States. Hope that Balaguer would be able to restore free elections should have evaporated when two of the Generalissimo's brothers attempted a *coup d'état* to restore a dictatorship. On November 19, Balaguer, supported by a United States naval and air task force just outside territorial limits and by Dominican armed forces, drove the brothers into exile in this country.

Some American newspapers took great comfort in the fact that Dr. José Antonio Bonilla Atiles, special representative of the Dominican Republic to the U.N., answered Cuba's accusation of "intervention" by saying: "Blessed be the moment when the American fleet came to Dominican waters." Some persons remember that Bonilla Atiles, like Balaguer, was a one-time staunch supporter of Trujillo. (Dr. Bonilla Atiles sang his praises in 1942 and, along with a high-ranking officer of the secret police, constantly "shepherded" the writer to make sure that he saw the great progress which Trujillo was

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promoting for the people. The two "shepherds" even "persuaded" the writer to allow them to drive him from Ciudad Trujillo to Port-au-Prince.) But Bonilla Atiles escaped from Trujillo's claws in the mid-1940s, founded a small paper which denounced Trujillo and, unlike Galíndez, managed to stay alive until after the death of the dictator. Bonilla Atiles is not unacceptable to the United States; whether he is better remembered in the Dominican Republic for his earlier support of Trujillo or for his opposition to him, the Department of State itself hardly knows. The writer personally doubts that Bonilla Atiles, a former professor of law, or Dr. Viriato A. Fiallo, also a professional man, can without strong support from the United States match wits or ruthlessness with the new "strong man," General Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria. It was the emergence of this General as the dominant figure in Balaguer's government at the end of November which halted, for the time being, a United States *démarche* to have the OAS recommend the removal of economic sanctions and the renewal of diplomatic relations.

What is the United States now to do? First, it can land Marines and either run the government or give military support to a hand-picked puppet. This armed intervention would almost certainly lead to the loss of some lives. The Russians would chortle and remind the world of United States criticism of the Russian suppression of the revolt in East Germany, 1953, and in Hungary, 1956. The United States would lose some Latin American votes on the issue of admitting Communist China to the U.N. And, above all, there would be hardly more assurance that this direct intervention would succeed in furthering U.S. aims any better than previous interventions have done.

Second, the United States can stand by and let the extreme Right and the extreme Left fight it out until the people become weary and disillusioned of the prolonged blood bath, shout "A plague on both your houses," and demand a moderate government. But where are the moderates after almost thirty-one years of dictatorship? Most of them are dead—a few died a natural death—or too old after years of exile to know and influence the realities.

Third, the United States may continue what this writer would call "The Half-Life of the Good Neighbor Policy." That is to say, "nonintervention" in behalf of Dr. Viriato A. Fiallo and the moderate National Civic Union. This action, to be decisive, would require massive appropriations under the proposed Alliance for Progress. But, unless the President has some unappropriated funds which he can use for this purpose, the outlook in the Dominican Republic for a peaceful transition to a democratic government is bleak.

Moreover, this kind of "nonintervention" might result in a dictatorship, Right or Left. The former is more likely, since as of early December ideological heirs of Trujillo apparently had contained the opposition. They will probably seek to exploit the latent anti-Americanism which, in the light of United States pronouncements, would hurt the moderates. The right-wing leaders might even form an alliance with the largely underground left wing to seek the overthrow of moderates supported by the United States.

In brief, the misdeeds of our past are crying out for payment. Perhaps even louder are the cries of the relatives of the victims of Trujillo.

STEEL: the Slumbering Utility

The author of the following is a top steel company executive who asked that his name be withheld to safeguard the friendly relations he enjoys with his colleagues.—Ed.

THE AMERICAN STEEL industry has been limping slowly along at 30 to 40 per cent under capacity. The millions of tons of steel that were *not* produced in 1960 and 1961 could have made a huge difference in the economic picture of the entire non-Communist world. Can anyone visualize the Russians or Chinese not using all their available steel capacity to build schools, bridges, railroads?

If the Administration is seriously interested in stopping inflation, in boosting domestic business and employment, in increasing exports and in providing real seed capital for the undeveloped nations, it should seriously consider new legislation in the next session of Congress to make the steel industry a privately owned, but price-controlled, public utility. There is nothing novel in this concept. Most countries, in effect, consider steel a public utility, and President Kennedy's letter to the presidents of the major steel companies last September, urging them not to increase prices, was a step in this direction.

The non-Communist world's main problem is economic growth. This country must grow economically, providing not only full employment but also surplus production to help the undeveloped nations get started on a free-growth economy. Basic to both purposes is the steel industry. Yet the American steel industry has given no consideration to these broad problems. It has concentrated on temporary profits at the expense of the long view, and without regard to its role as the producer of the most basic of all industrial raw materials. During much of 1960 and 1961, the industry has operated at about 50 per cent of capacity while the rest of the world was producing steel at a 100 per cent rate — and still falling far short of needs.

The American steel industry is the most vital single industry in the world. Our entire rich economy depends upon it. Our blast furnaces, open hearths and rolling mills are the world's best and most efficient. Today, a rolling-mill operator sits in an air-conditioned booth, touches levers and turns out more tons of steel than hundreds of men did a few years ago.

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We still import a few steel items —normally, 2 per cent of our capacity (during the strike year of 1959, this increased to 4 per cent). Most of the imports are of commodities involving a great deal of hand labor, such as fencing and other light materials. The industry's public-relations organization made a great deal of the import threat during the 1959 steel strike, but actually — up to the last price increase — we continued to export a great deal more than we imported. Even today, most of the body of the famous Volkswagen is made of American sheet steel.

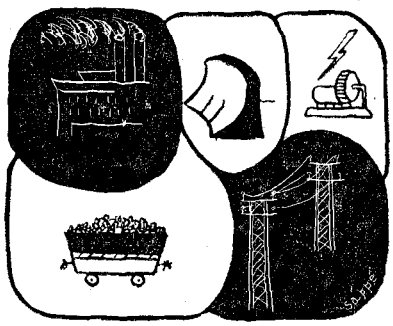
Yet our exports of steel have been declining, both relative to our capacity and in net tonnage, for some years. The peak postwar year was 1947, when we shipped 4.2 million tons of steel abroad, 6.6 per cent of our total sales that year. In 1957, a good export year, we shipped 4.6 million tons abroad — but that was less than 6 per cent of our total production. In 1958, we exported only 2.4 million tons, a very small percentage of our capacity (much of which was idle).

Provided our prices are kept within reason, there is an insatiable foreign demand for the products of our magnificent continuous-sheet mills, which roll steel at a mile a minute and turn out thousands of tons a shift. (The few similar mills abroad are American built and financed.) Our large structural-shape mills are the newest and best, and can produce millions of tons and feet of steel for railroads, bridges, large buildings, ships and railroad cars. Brazil alone needs more bridges than we can produce steel for in many years. In the whole tropical world of South America, Africa, India and the Far East, it is not practical to build with wood: steel is required for everything from roofs to footings.

IF WE are to raise the living standards of the underdeveloped populations, we must supply them with steel to get their economies moving. This does not mean that we can afford to give away half of the steel we produce. But it does mean that we must think seriously about what it would actually cost us to produce up to our capacity, i.e., twice the amount we now produce.

Our steel industry has priced itself out of the world market; in fact, many people within the industry feel it has priced itself out of a good share of the domestic market. Since the expiration of price ceilings, the industry has followed a policy of continuously raising prices. Every time labor received an increase, the price of steel was raised enough not only to cover the higher wages, but to cover any possible theoretical inflation that might occur — and more.

THE excuse for this was that new investment money must be secured for new capacity, and naturally the investors had to be offered a profitable return on their money. What happened was that the new capacity was built out of excess profits hidden in the accelerated amortization granted to defense industries. None of the major steel companies ever went to



the market to sell new stock to get investment capital. Actually, they split their stock time and again. The stockholders, and top management with stock options, made large profits and for a while steel stocks approached a top rating as a quality investment stock. However, most stock analysts now have degraded the stock, feeling — although they do not dare say so publicly — that an industry that administers prices only on the basis of how much profit can be secured, and without regard to consumption economics, is not really healthy.

Business Week, a magazine hardly to be considered critical of American industry, pointed out in its last issue of 1960 that our steel industry's pricing practices are illogical — and directly the opposite of those used elsewhere in the capitalist world. In Europe, and in much of the rest of the world, steel prices are set as they were in this country in 1938, i.e., on the basis of the price that would bring in enough orders to fill the mills with enough tonnage to operate on a reasonably efficient and profitable basis. In this country, in recent years, the industry has been fixing its price high enough to assure profitable operations even at only 50 per cent capacity production.

Per Jacobsson, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, in an article, "What's Behind the Gold Problem," pointed out that world shortages of raw material and basic commodities no longer exist:

> I think particular attention must be paid to the fact that on world markets generally prices have ceased to increase, and indeed that the prices of some raw materials have declined. Supplies have caught up with demand for fuels (both coal and oil), raw materials generally, and even for most manufactured products. It is my personal belief that the world price level is determined largely by factors outside the United States, even if for some products U.S. demand is of great importance.

THE KENNEDY Administration, which believes that our gold-dollar crisis can be eased by increasing exports, might well take a close look at our steel industry and its pricing practices. Steel is the only basic material (except aluminum, much less important to world-wide industry) which today sells at a greatly inflated price over that of a few years ago. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, using 1947-49 as a base, shows the daily index of industrial raw-material prices as down about 10 per cent in 1953-55 and, more recently, down about 9 per cent. In contrast, the finished-steel price index was up about 43 per cent in 1953-55 and is currently up 85 per cent.

In the 1953-55 period (which included the 1954 recession), our average steel production was two million tons a week. In January, 1960, we produced 2,715,000 tons weekly; later in the year, production went down to a little more than one million weekly. In October, 1961, we were producing no more than we were six to nine years ago. Is this economic growth?

Everyone in the industry knows well that most prices in steel are set

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by the largest producer who, in recent years, has been able to make himself the *low-cost* producer. *The Wall Street Journal* of January 27, 1961, quotes Federal Trade Commission Chairman Kintner as disclosing that a "full-scale field investigation of industry-wide price-fixing" in steel and cement is under way. The publication points out that the FTC has had a consent order outstanding since 1951 that involves about ninety steel companies, all of which are charged with "using the American Iron and Steel Institute to agree on a pricing formula and to suppress competition."

CURRENT prices for steel are based on high-cost scrap, ore, coal and limestone. Yet all of these commodities, except ore, have recently gone *down* in price or held steady. The fact is that current steel-pricing practices are unique in the industrial world. Base prices are announced by all the large producers practically simultaneously and are effective immediately on all unshipped tonnage on the books.

This is what is called the "price in effect" sales policy. It means that anyone placing an order today for delivery in three months does not know what price he will have to pay when the steel is delivered. On large, long-term building projects such as pipe lines, new railroads overseas or large bridges, the only way a contractor can protect himself is to bid extra high to take care of possible price increases, or to borrow money in the hope of getting the steel at once (in which case he must be prepared to pay storage and interest charges).

None of the foreign companies operate in such a fashion. It follows, then, that anyone building a large bridge in Brazil would go to a European producer, where he could get a guaranteed price for delivery at a fixed and reasonable time.

The steel industry retains many obsolete pricing practices that have not only hurt our export markets, but have delayed technological advances in this country. Only within the last year or so has the industry bestirred itself to produce ultra-thin tinplate at a price to compete with aluminum cans. Other obsolete pricing practices, especially on coiled sheet, are holding up progress.

If the Kennedy Administration really wants what it says it wants, a 5 per cent growth rate in the American economy, it must do something about the steel industry. The President has already recognized the necessity for steel price controls; now he should go further and call on Congress to establish a Steel Trade Commission empowered to set prices that would return 7 per cent, say, on current net investments. Such a return would enable the industry to borrow money for capital expansion when necessary. Moreover, the mere fact of controlled prices would make for steadier production. The prices should be set on a net delivered basis, just as they are now.

MOST steel economists would estimate that average prices could be reduced from 185 per cent of the 1947-49 average to 150 per cent. This would enable us to compete once more in the world market, and would make possible the domestic construction of many more housing units, schools, highways and other structures without a price inflation. With the industry operating at 90 per cent, as it should operate, the manufacturers would earn enough to provide for expansion and profits.

The electric, telephone and gas companies, long under price controls, have done a splendid job. Costs of their services have increased only modestly since 1946, yet their profits have increased greatly because of increased production and sales. Through huge investments of new capital, raised by bonds and stock issues, they have modernized their plants. Investors in such conservative companies as A.T.&T. have done very well. Perhaps the very fact that prices are relatively fixed has *forced* these industries to seek increased profits through improved methods. The effect of automation on employment has been minimized by continued growth, and the workers, through their unions, continue to get fair wages.

The effect of wages on steel has been greatly exaggerated. In terms of percentage of annual sales, for instance, labor costs in U.S. Steel rose less than 5 per cent in the period 1929-1958 (*Metal Statistics, 1960*).

Most public utilities operate with prices fixed by state commissions; none have wage controls. Were steel to operate as a public utility, workers would benefit by steadier employment; the wild production swings of the past (in February, 1958, the industry was operating at 50.9 per cent of capacity; a year later, at 88.5 per cent) would be obviated. Wages would continue to be subject to negotiation as in all public utilities.

OF COURSE, unlike the majority of public utilities, steel would have to be regulated on a *national* rather than *state* basis. To get the necessary regulation through Congress, and to allow the Steel Trade Commission sufficient time to make the necessary cost studies, would take several years. In the meantime, steps should be taken to put the industry on a full-production basis *at once*.

Perhaps Kennedy could call on the industry to cooperate with a Steel Advisory Board, created by Executive order. The board, representing industry, labor and the public, would be empowered to recommend reductions in steel prices, including special reductions for large orders. (Federal Trade Commission rulings currently outlaw this practice; however, it should be recognized that economies resulting from large-tonnage runs are a real factor in lowering costs. If special reductions were permitted, export prices would be reduced immediately, since export orders are always large. It would also make possible a price reduction for automobiles.)

Furthermore, the industry should agree to sell at a fixed price, abolishing the concept of "price in effect" at time of delivery. On the domestic market, the industry and the Advisory Board should immediately guarantee present prices on all tonnages contracted for, and should guarantee rebates for any price reductions subsequently granted on new inventories accumulated in the meantime.

In short, the steel industry and the Administration should sit down and discuss a thorough revision of our steel-pricing practices in order to get our own economy moving, to get our exports flowing, and to avoid another gold crisis.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Art Books of 1961: Part I

Lincoln Kirstein

Mr. Kirstein's annual survey of the best (and a few of the worst) art books of the year is being published in two sections. Part two, covering the Near and Far East, Albums, Pictorial Reference, Useful Arts and Collecting, will appear next week.

General History

101 MASTERPIECES OF AMERICAN PRIMITIVE PAINTING. From the Collection of Edgar Williams and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch. Foreword by James J. Rorimer, Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Preface by John Walker, Director, National Gallery of Art. Introduction by Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, Associate Curator of American Painting and Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Doubleday & Co. $10.

How did they arrive at the Mystical Number of One Hundred and One? And MASTERPIECE, there's a word for you; and PRIMITIVE, there's another word: in this case, both dirty. The exhibition which forms the basis of this vilely printed book is now on view, for all to judge, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is not, as is claimed by various grateful or even greedy museum fellas, the greatest collection of such daubs. It falls a long way, both in time of collection and in quality of choice, behind Maxim Karolik's pictures in Boston, or Mrs. Rockefeller's at Colonial Williamsburg. It is, in fact, a real barrel-bottom groupment, about a third of which one can bear to look at twice, and most of which would be suitable for guest rooms in moderately expensive country houses. This is the sort of picture that gives "primitive" a bad name. The catalogue, if such this horrid book be, is the exact equivalent in quality of the collection; muzzy and cheap printing, silly comments by them that should know better, but through the long years have become too greedy or servile to resist the deformations of their profession.

ITALIAN PAINTING: 1200-1600. By Ernest T. DeWald. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 612 pp.; over 475 illus. $12.50.

Professor DeWald of Princeton has written a compact, interesting and very well-arranged history; the illustrations, serviceable enough, are inset in the text. It is an excellent university textbook and can be read with pleasure and profit by anyone interested. It embodies much recent research and shows a useful working mind of cultivation, acuity, simplicity and sensitivity.

PAINTING OF THE HIGH RENAISSANCE IN ROME AND FLORENCE. By S. J. Freedberg. Harvard. Vol. 1: 644 pp. Vol. 2: 514 pp.; 700 plates. $30 set.

Professor Freedberg's enormous labor, which won the 1960-1 Faculty Prize of the Harvard University Press, confounds criticism. How can one dare dispraise these two mammoth volumes, fruit of a lifetime of study and observation? The High Renaissance no longer enjoys the canonized popularity and universal acceptance as the criterion of all art, occidental and oriental, which the heirs of Ruskin via Charles Eliot Norton once gave it; but Professor Freedberg has here accumulated his treasure concerning this colossal epoch in man's imaginative life. These well-produced volumes, the second of which contains a wealth of fine plates, are dedicated to the sacred memory of the sage of I Tatti, and, if one might risk a tiny stricture, there is a trace on certain pages of the proprietary smugness with which Berenson was prone to infect his devout congregation. More seriously, when it comes to the summation of the qualities of individual "difficult" artists, like Sodoma, Bronzino or Pontormo, Professor Freedberg provides little psychological insight. The art-historian's triumphant omniscience gives us all the facts, save the nature of the beast.

A TREASURE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT PRINTS: A Collection of the best-known woodcuts, etchings, engravings and lithographs by twenty-three great artists. Stephen Longstreet, editor. Simon and Schuster. 333 pp.; 232 prints, 28 in color. $15.

Runner-up (yet one hesitates to think of one worse), for the worst art book in many a season. The color bears absolutely no relation to any known original and is solely governed by the cheap process the publishers have employed. The selection of artists and prints is perfunctory and the commentary vulgar and ignorant. It is fat and heavy and you had better watch out.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE HELLENISTIC AGE (Revised edition). By Margarete Bieber. Columbia. 259 text pp.; 818 gravure plates. Oversize 9" x 12" format. $27 ($22.50 pre-Christmas).

A completely revised edition of an important work, published first in 1955. Aided by the Bollingen and Lodge Foundations, it is sumptuously produced. A new final chapter on the bridge between late Greek and Roman sculpture is logical enough, but surprisingly fascinating and revelatory. In recent years, "late" or decadent styles have been downgraded in favor of the "purer" primitive periods, but one finds in Hellenistic carving an astonishing contemporaneity, psychological insight and technical mastery.

PIONEERS OF MODERN ART. By W. Sandberg and H. L. C. Jaffe. McGraw-Hill. 272 pp.; 72 pp. of full-color plates; 208 black-and-white illus. $18.50.

With hardly a plate, fact or judgment that is not available in some other better book, this survey is typical of the mindless repetitiousness of scholar and publisher, who automatically feed the endless appetite for plates-with-text: same plates, same text, same collections. It presumes to "cover," not only painting and sculpture, but architecture, furniture and photography. If you get it in your stocking, exchange it.

ITALIAN BLOWN GLASS. By Giovanni Mariacher. McGraw-Hill. 245 pp.; 85 tipped-in color plates; 59 black-and-white illus. $25.

This luxurious volume follows the similar *Five Centuries of Italian Majolica* by Giuseppe Liverani. It is an extremely well-produced, beautiful book; an admirable conspectus of magnificent handicraft.

Architecture

THE ARCHITECTURE OF MICHELANGELO. By James S. Ackerman. Vol. I: Text and plates. 140 pp.; over

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100 illus. Vol. II: Catalogue. 155 pp. Viking Studio Books. $12.50 ea.

These are volumes 4 and 5 in a most distinguished English-produced "Studies in Architecture" (London, A. Zwemmer); previous volumes have covered Philibert de l'Orme, Hawksmoor and the Burgundian Gothic. Professor Ackerman of Harvard is a superb architectural historian, and he has made a deeply serious and noble study of the architecture of Michelangelo. His first volume contains a text that is compact and apposite; his plates are beautiful. The second volume, which may be purchased separately by scholars or librarians, is a very detailed catalogue. Still being prepared in this admirable series are treatments of Bernini, Bramante, Borromini, Carlo Maderno, Vitruvius and others. The best kind of humanist scholarship and responsible publishing.

The Great Ages of World Architecture:

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE. By Frank. E. Brown.

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. By Robert Branner.

BAROQUE AND ROCOCO ARCHITECTURE. By Henry A. Millon.

MODERN ARCHITECTURE. By Vincent Scully, Jr.

Braziller. Each volume contains about 50 pp. of text, 100 illus. $4.95 each.

This series is the most attractively presented, carefully written, admirably edited, well printed (in Holland), and cheapest to have appeared here. Format, plates and text are a vast improvement over the previous Braziller series of contemporary architects, "Master of World Architecture." Frank Brown's "Roman" opens with a baked-earth model of a Palatine hut, shows the development of enclosed space for ritual purposes, reproduces the great reconstructions of Hadrian's villa, and ends surprisingly and yet brilliantly with Hagia Sophia. Robert Branner's "Gothic" commences with Chartres, includes a good selection of Villard de Honnecourt's sketches, has fine photos throughout and closes with Spain, Carcassonne and Münster. Henry A. Millon's "Baroque and Rococo" starts *after* Michelangelo, has excellent pictures of Rome and Turin with contemporary plates skillfully juxtaposed, and ends with the just praise of Mansart and Fischer von Erlach. Vincent Scully, Jr.'s "Modern" is perhaps the most brilliant. Its first plate shows the Piazza di Spagna (1721-5) against a perspective rendering of Corbusier's Chandigarh (1951-6), an arresting and revealing comparison. Piranesi, Paxton, Soane and Ledoux are the precursors; there is an excellent comparison of Marie Antoinette's *hameau* and our American shingle-style. Kahn's Medical Research Building, Corbusier's Ronchamp, Chandigarh again in some detail, and Paul Rudolph's fascinating Sarasota High School (1958-9), complete this splendid survey. Each book has first-rate texts, bibliographies, indices and working apparatus. One eagerly awaits the rest of the series: Greek, Early Christian, Medieval, Renaissance, Islamic, Pre-Columbian, etc. This is intelligent American publishing at its best.

MODERN SACRED ART AND THE CHURCH OF ASSY. By William S. Rubin. Columbia. 256 pp., 45 pp. of illus. (many in full color). $8.75.

A lukewarm treatment of an awkward subject: whether or not the prestige of "modern art" furthers those functions that the Mother Church ostensibly urges — praise and/or prayer. Walls and windows by Chagall, Leger and Matisse are cheerful enough. Their prettiness lends slight grandeur to the intrinsic tragedy of the Christian Sacrifice. The Church as Patron seems to hold the rather heretical opinion that non-believers can compel belief, by a decorative gift. Malraux has long taught us that our true cathedrals are museums, and vice versa. But are you honestly *moved* by any of this Good Taste?

ARCHITECTURE AND THE ESTHETICS OF PLENTY. By James Marston Fitch. Columbia. Over 100 illus. $7.50.

An extremely well-worked-out study in social-aesthetics, by a discerning scholar, who adds a rare visual discrimination and a fine analytical intelligence to the historian's sense of the continuity of tradition.

ARCHITECTURE TODAY AND TOMORROW. By Cranston Jones. McGraw-Hill. 243 pp.; 53 color plates; 340 black-and-white illus. $17.50.

An associate editor of *Time* — the one charged with Architecture — has produced a witless and breathless study of the current prestige, or popular acceptance, of the principal American practitioners. It has much value as social history: "On June 24, 1954, Edward Stone (The New Romanticist) married Maria Elena Torch, a diminutive, peppery Cleveland girl, some twenty-five years his junior." To this is added a footnote: "A second marriage for Stone. He has two sons, Edward, Jr., and Robert Vandiver, by his first wife, Orlean Vandiver." There is a snapshot of grilleman Stone, on the Grand Canal with Maria. She's real cute, but don't buy the book.

Individual Artists

THE GENIUS OF LEONARDO da VINCI: Leonardo da Vinci on Art and the Artist. Assembled, edited and introduced by André Chastel. Translated from the French by Ellen Callmann. Orion. 226 pp. 132 illus. in black, white and color. $12.50.

This is a pleasing enough, but rather expensive, French-produced anthology, with some interesting historical notes and tables at the back; by no means worth getting if you already have Sir Kenneth Clark on the same subject. The reproductions are fairly good, but the format is awkward and irritating and it's neither exactly scholarly nor popular. I guess it's a gift book.

MICHELANGELO'S THEORY OF ART. By Robert J. Clements. New York University Press. 461 pp.; 20 plates. $10.

A fascinating study on Michelangelo's ideas in theory and practice, the day-to-day working opinions that illuminate his method, and his general philosophy; beautifully arranged by Dr. Clements, who is Professor of Romance Languages and Director of Comparative Literature at New York University. He has already published works on the Platonists of the Renaissance and the emblem-books; he is preparing a study of Michelangelo's poetry. His book is beautifully presented, with just enough well-printed plates above fine captions to illuminate his text, but without reduplication of the mass of other available material.

GISLEBERTUS: SCULPTURE OF AUTUN. By Denis Crivot and George Zarnecki. Introduction by T. S. R. Boase, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. Orion Press in conjunction with Trianon Press. 180 pp. $13.50.

This is the single most glorious art book of 1961. Magnificently produced in France, it is a superb study, with splendid pictures, of the now-known individual who was responsible for the carvings on the Cathedral at Autun. It is as if a crack had been made into the almost impenetrable anonymity of medieval carving; a personality and a genius emerges. This book is in a form as near to perfection as one can imagine, and one is humbly grateful for the devotion,

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care and craft that went into its triumphant achievement.

PAOLO UCELLO. By Paolo d'Ancona. 90 pp.; 47 color plates; 35 black-and-white illus. $20.

GIOTTO. By Emilio Cecchi. 120 pp.; 60 color plates; 37 black-and-white illus. $25.

PIETRO CAVALLINI. By Pietro Toesca. 60 pp.; 25 color plates; 15 black-and-white illus. $16.

GIOVANNI BELLINI. By Giuseppe Fiocco. 105 pp.; 48 color plates; 45 black-and-white illus. $25. All McGraw-Hill.

This series bears the name "Silvana," a memorial to the daughter of the distinguished Italian publisher, Amilcare Pizzi. It is obviously a labor of love; tenderness and dedication have been lavished on the large color plates, many of which are double-spread. The most recent, and the most beautiful, is the monograph on Paolo Ucello; the Bellini is scarcely less beautiful.

PICASSO'S PICASSOS. By David Douglas Duncan. Harper. 270 pp.; 101 color plates; 532 black-and-white illus. $30 ($24.95 pre-Christmas).

Picasso's Picassos are like everyone else's, and far less good than those in most public or private collections. This huge album is conceived in a tone of adipose servility, and is dedicated to "The Maestro." Picasso is no fool. The dealers have always had the good pictures; if he kept some mementos around the home, they are insignificant. But he has never been shy about blow-by-blow documentation, and this welter-weight public-relations job is a crusher even to his stupendous career. At age eighty, a trace more of selective dignity might be seemly, but why should The Maestro worry if a harmless American courtier hangs around the house, clicking?

PICASSO: BULLS AND BULLFIGHTERS. A personal commentary by Luis Miguel Dominguin. Introduction by Georges Boudaille. Abrams. 176 pp. $25.

Still another blockbuster from the Picasserie, in a linen slip case, cellophane and gold title overlay, magnificently reproduced. "Quick release of the swarming images was all that mattered; whether pages were upside down, smudged and splattered, thumbprinted or rubbed — all these were trifles, non-existent." Thus the dear Publisher to his dear Purchaser. He spake better than he knew. The most part of these squiggles are indeed trifling and nonexistent, as anything save pious relics of the master's thumb prints. But it's a real rich piece of goods and you have the Gospel of Santo Ernesto according to Dominguin, texts in both English *and* Spanish. It would look good stuck under those reproductions of bullfight posters.

Books by *Nation* Contributors

Listed below are books published during 1961 by writers who alse contributed to The Nation *in the year now ending. We print a list of this sort annually, just before Christmas, as a service to our readers and authors.*

Books published in England are listed here for the record. However, they are available on special order from most booksellers.

DANIEL AARON. *Writers on the Left.* Harcourt. $7.50.

NELSON ALGREN. *Chicago: City on the Make.* Angel Island. 95c paper.

WILLIAM ARROWSMITH (with Roger Shattuck), editor. *The Craft and Context of Translation.* Texas. $4.75.
Editor. *Image of Italy.* Texas. $4.
Translator, *The Birds of Aristophanes.* Michigan. $4.50.

NEWTON ARVIN. *The Heart of Hawthorne's Journals.* Russell & Russell. $7.50.

BEN BELITT, editor and translator. *Selected Poems of Pablo Neruda* (bilingual edition). Grove. $5.95.

HAROLD J. BERMAN, editor. *Talks on American Law.* Random. $1.25 paper.

PAUL BLACKBURN. *The Nets.* Trobar. $1 paper.

ROBERT BLY (with James Wright), translator. *Twenty Poems of Georg Trakl* (bilingual). The Sixties Press. $2. $1 paper.

LEON BRAMSON. *The Political Context of Sociology.* Princeton. $4.

RITCHIE CALDER. *After the Seventh Day.* Simon and Schuster. $6.95.
Agony of the Congo. International Publications. $4.
The Life Savers. Pan Books Ltd. 2/6. paper.

HAYDEN CARRUTH. *Journey to a Known Place.* New Directions. $12.50.

JOHN COHEN. *Chance, Skill and Luck.* Pelican. 95c paper.

RICHARD CONDON. *A Talent for Loving.* McGraw-Hill. $4.95.
The Manchurian Candidate. Signet. 75c paper.
Some Angry Angel. Crest. 35c paper.

FRED J. COOK. *A Two-Dollar Bet Means Murder.* Dial. $4.50.
Rallying a Free People, Theodore Roosevelt (teen-age biography). Lippincott. $2.95.
Fighting for Justice, John Marshall (teen-age biography). Lippincott. $2.95.

DAVID CORT. *The Minstrel Boy.* Macmillan. $4.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD. *The Strange Death of Liberal England: 1910-1914.*

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Capricorn. $1.75 paper.

FRANK J. DONNER. *The Un-Americans.* Ballantine. 60c paper.

EDWARD DORN. *The Newly Fallen.* Totem Press. $1 paper.

JOHN DORNBERG. *Schizophrenic Germany.* Macmillan. $4.95.

DON DWIGGINS. *Frankie. The Life and Loves of Frank Sinatra.* Paperback Library. 35c paper.

RUSSELL EDSON. *Appearances.* Thing Press. $1.10 paper.
A Stone Is Nobody's. Thing Press. $1.35 paper.

MARTIN ESSLIN. *The Theatre of the Absurd.* Doubleday. $1.45 paper.
Brecht: The Man and His Work. Doubleday. $1.45 paper.

D. F. FLEMING. *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960.* Doubleday. 2 Vols. $15 set.

GUY JEAN FORGUE, editor. *Letters of H. L. Mencken.* Knopf. $7.95.

HENRIQUE GALVAO. *Santa Maria: My Crusade for Portugal.* World. $4.50.

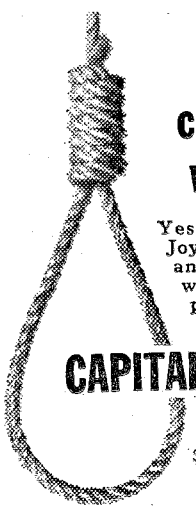
WILLIAM GILMAN. *The Language of Science: A Guide to Effective Writing.* Harcourt. $4.95.

ALEX GOTTFRIED. *Boss Cermak of Chicago.* University of Washington Press. $6.50.

HORACE GREGORY. *The Dying Gladiators and Other Essays.* Grove. $2.45 paper.
Medusa in Gramercy Park. Macmillan. $4.50. $1.75 paper.

H. D. *Helen in Egypt.* Grove. $5.

DONALD HALL. *String Too Short to be Saved.* Viking. $5.
Whittier. Dell. 35c paper.



Are we compromising with murder?

Yes, answers James Avery Joyce, international lawyer and sociologist who has worked on humanitarian projects connected with the United Nations.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
A WORLD VIEW
By James Avery Joyce
$5.00. THOMAS NELSON & SONS

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LEO HAMALIAN (with Edmond L. Volpe), editor. *Seven Short Novel Masterpieces.* Popular Library. 75c paper.
Prize Reader. Popular Library. 95c paper.

IHAB HASSAN. *Radical Innocence: Studies in the Contemporary American Novel.* Princeton. $6.

ARTHUR HEILMAN. *Principles and Practices of Teaching Reading.* Charles E. Merrill. $5.95.

EDWARD HIGBEE. *The Squeeze: Cities without Space.* Cassell. 21s.

EDWIN HONIG. *The Gazabos.* Clarke & Way. $1.45 paper.
Translator, *Calderón: Four Plays.* Hill & Wang. $4.50. $1.95 paper.

LEO HUBERMAN (with Paul M. Sweezy). *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution.* Monthly Review Press. $1.75 paper.

DAVID IGNATOW. *Say Pardon.* Wesleyan. $3.50. $1.25 paper.

ROBERT KELLY. *Armed Descent.* Hawk's Well Press. $1 paper.

ADRIENNE KOCH. *Power, Morals, and the Founding Fathers.* Cornell. $1.95 paper.

WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER. *Beyond a Reasonable Doubt?* Morrow. $5.95.

L. JESSE LEMISCH, editor. *Benjamin Franklin: The Autobiography and Other Writings.* New American Library. 50c paper.

DENISE LEVERTOV. *The Jacob's Ladder.* New Directions. $1.55 paper.

CARLETON MABEE. *The Seaway Story.* Macmillan. $5.95.

BRUCE MAZLISH, editor. *Adam Smith: An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* Liberal Arts. $1.25 paper.

SEYMOUR MELMAN. *The Peace Race.* Ballantine. 50c paper.

VIVIAN MERCIER (with David H. Greene). *1000 Years of Irish Prose.* Part I: The Literary Revival. Grosset & Dunlap. $2.45 paper.

W. S. MERWIN, translator. *The Satires of Persius.* Indiana. $3.50.
Translator. *Spanish Ballads.* Doubleday. 95c paper.

WARREN MILLER. *90 Miles from Home.* Crest. 50c paper.

SIDNEY MONAS. *The Third Section: Police and Society in Russia Under Nicholas I.* Harvard. $6.75.

HERBERT J. MULLER. *Freedom in the Ancient World.* Harper. $7.50.
The Loom of History. New American Library. 95c paper.

STAN OPOTOWSKY. *TV: The Big Picture.* Dutton. $4.95.
The Kennedy Government. Dutton. $3.95. Popular Library. 50c paper.

GERARD PIEL. *Science in the Cause of Man.* Knopf. $5.

HYAM PLUTZIK. *Horatio.* Atheneum. $4.

CHARLES O. PORTER (with Robert Alexander). *The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America.* Macmillan. $4.50.

DACHINE RAINER. *The Uncomfortable Inn.* Abelard and Schuman. $4.95.

HARLAND RISTAU. *Next Time You're Alive.* Seven Poets Press. $1 paper.

C. H. ROLPH. *Common Sense About Crime and Punishment.* Macmillan. $2.95.

Co-author (with Arthur Koestler). *Hanged by the Neck.* Penguin. 85c paper.

MORDECAI ROSHWALD. *Level 7.* New American Library. 50c paper.

JEROME ROTHENBERG. *The Seven Hells of the Jigoku Zoshi.* Trobar. $1 paper.
Editor. *Poems from the Floating World.* Vol. 3. Hawk's Well. 25c paper.
Editor. *Poems from the Floating World.* Vol. 4. Hawk's Well. 50c paper.

HARRISON E. SALISBURY. *Moscow Journal.* Chicago. $6.95.

MICHAEL SHAYER. *Persephone.* Migrant Press. 35c paper.

GEORGE STEINER. *The Death of Tragedy.* Knopf. $5.

DESMOND STEWART. *The Men of Friday.* Heinemann. 18s.

ADRIEN STOUTENBURG. *The Blue-Eyed Convertible* (teen-age novel). Westminster Press. $2.95.

Co-author (with Laura N. Baker). *Beloved Botanist: The Story of Carl Linnaeus* (teen-age biography). Scribner's. $2.95.

GABRIEL VAHANIAN. *The Death of God.* Braziller. $5.

THOMAS VANCE. *Skeleton of Light.* North Carolina. $3.50.

DAN WAKEFIELD. *Revolt in the South.* Grove. 95c paper.

BERNARD A. WEISBERGER. *The American Newspaperman.* Chicago. $4.50.

ALEXANDER WERTH. *The Khrushchev Phase.* Robert Hale. 25s.

URBAN WHITAKER, editor. *Democracies and International Relations: Can Ours Survive.* Chandler. $1.75 paper.

RICHARD WILBUR. *Advice to the Prophet and Other Poems.* Harcourt. $3.75.

JONATHAN WILLIAMS. *Amen Huzza Selah.* Jargon. $1.95.

WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS. *The Contours of American History.* World. $7.50.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. *Many Loves and Other Plays.* New Directions. $6.50.
The Farmers' Daughters. New Directions. $4.50. $1.95 paper.

MITCHELL WILSON. *Meeting at a Far Meridian.* Doubleday. $4.95.

JAMES WRIGHT. See Robert Bly listing.

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Second Impressions

Review of Paperbacks

Robert M. Wallace

In this somewhat expanded column, Mr. Wallace lists under several headings reprints of merit that are appropriate as gifts. It is a distillation of the enormous paperback output, but the range is wide and caters to a considerable variety of tastes and interests.

The American Scene

Culture on the Moving Frontier by Louis B. Wright (Harper, $1.60). Shaping influences, which Dr. Wright considers primarily British, on the culture of the Atlantic seaboard, Kentucky, the old Northwest Territory and the Pacific Northwest; thoughtful, good humored, vivid.

The Atlantic Migration: 1607-1860 by Marcus Lee Hansen, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger (Harper, $2.25). The first volume of Hansen's basic, deeply scholarly study, culminating in *The Immigrant in American History* and here concentrating on the European, especially Irish, conditions that encouraged emigration.

The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste by James D. Hart (California, $1.95). American interests and taste, from the *New England Primer* to Lloyd Douglas' *The Big Fisherman*, defined in a scholarly but often amusing survey of bestsellers.

Matthew Arnold and American Culture by John Henry Raleigh (California, $1.75). A stimulating and useful demonstration that Arnold rendered weighty services to a major tradition of criticism in America from 1865 to 1950; argues that he still serves as "proper exemplar for the modern liberal."

South: Modern Southern Literature in Its Cultural Setting, Louis D. Rubin, Jr. and Robert D. Jacobs, editors (Dolphin, $1.45). Twenty-one essays, half of them new, largely concerning the last thirty-five years, and most of them by a second generation of Southern scholars and critics. Thirty-six bibliographies.

John Burroughs' America, Farida A. Wiley, editor (Anchor, $1.45). Fresh bits of natural history and days in the fields and woods near Poughkeepsie and the Catskills, arranged into new essays from twelve of Burroughs' books.

Arrowsmith, Babbitt and *Main Street* by Sinclair Lewis (Signet, 75 ea.). Lewis at his best, with comments by Mark Schorer, tracing his success from *Main Street* in 1920 to *Arrowsmith* in 1925.

Russian Life and Letters

The Year of Protest, 1956: An Anthology of Soviet Literary Materials, Hugh McLean and Walter N. Vickery, editors (Vintage, $1.45). Alyoshin's play, *Alone*, examining the private results of an illicit love affair; plus verse, criticism and short stories which share an almost dutiful and painfully tentative rejection of dogma and official apparatus.

Russia: Absent and Present by Wladimir Weidlé (Vintage, 95c.). Compact survey of Russia from medieval times, forcefully arguing that Russia has always had a basically European culture.

A Shelf of Russian Fiction — Leo Tolstoy: *The Kreutzer Sonata* (Premier, 50c), *Anna Karenina* (Signet, 95c), *Resurrection* (Signet, 75c), *The Cossacks* and *The Raid* (1 vol., Signet, 50c). *The Short Stories of Leo Tolstoy* (Bantam, 95c). Nikolai Gogol: *The Diary of a Madman and Other Stories* (Signet, 50c), *Dead Souls* (Andrew B. McAndrew, translator, Signet, 60c; David Magarshack, translator, Penguin, $1.25). Ivan Turgenev: *The Torrents of Spring* (Vintage, $1.25), *Five Short Novels* (Bantam, 75c). Also: *The Queen of Spades and Other Tales* by Alexander Pushkin (Signet, 60c). *Early Stories* by Anton Chekhov (Anchor, 95c). *Notes from Underground, White Nights* and other stories by Fyodor Dostoevsky (Signet, 60c). *Peter the First* by Alexey Tolstoy (Signet, 95c).

Poetry

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri (Oxford: *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, $2.25 ea., *Paradiso*, $2.50), edited and translated by John D. Sinclair. Sound and pleasing prose translations facing the Italian text, with tasteful, restrained notes and comment.

The Purgatorio by Dante. A new translation by John Ciardi (Mentor, 75c). Sensitive unlinked terzines in current English, with Ciardi's commentary and an introduction by Archibald T. MacAllister.

Baudelaire: Selected Verse, Francis Scarfe, editor (Penguin, $1.25). A substantial biographical and critical introduction, nearly 150 poems in the French texts and Scarfe's serviceable, often sensitive, prose translations.

Duino Elegies by Rainer Maria Rilke, English translations by C. F. MacIntyre (California, $1.50). The ten superb elegies, central to Rilke's thought, on the nature and uses of love and affliction; German text and translation.

An Anthology of Spanish Poetry from Garcilosa to García Lorca, Angel Flores, editor (Anchor, $1.45). Translations of lyrics, chiefly, with originals in an ap-

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pendix; especially good for recent work, but throughout its period fuller than Eleanor Turnbull's *Ten Centuries of Spanish Poetry*. Useful bibliographies.

The Poetical Works of John Milton, Helen Darbyshire, editor (Oxford, $2.50). Like eight others in the Oxford Standard Authors, an authoritative text handsomely printed.

Sonnets by William Shakespeare, Douglas Bush and Alfred Harbage, editors (Penguin, 85c). Attractively printed, well annotated and with a singularly clear-headed introduction by Mr. Bush.

Criticism and the Arts

Art and Industry by Herbert Read (Indiana, $1.95). Persuasively supports the possibility that abstract artistic creation can be introduced into mass-produced articles by applying a rationally or intuitively conceived order marked by economy, efficiency and freedom.

The Art of Poetry by Paul Valéry (Vintage, $1.45). Twenty-eight pieces, casual and unorganized as a book, but an illuminating and searching examination of the nature and writing of poetry, especially his own. The Bollingen edition with T. S. Eliot's introduction.

Lectures in Criticism by R. P. Blackmur, Benedetto Croce, Henri Peyre, J. C. Ransom, Herbert Read and Allen Tate; Elliott Coleman, editor (Harper, $1.45). Sensitive and learned considerations of the history, function and methods of criticism as related to Aristotle, Longinus, Coleridge and present critics.

The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art by Jean Joseph Seznec (Harper, $2.25). An absorbing, comprehensive study of the persistence and significance of ancient mythology through medieval Christianity and into Renaissance thought and art; the lavish Pantheon edition of 1953 photographically reduced by one-quarter.

French Music: From the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré by Martin Cooper (Oxford, $1.85). An exceptionally well-balanced account of the years 1869-1924, its organization by decades, clarifying interrelations and movements. Portraits in letterpress.

Miscellaneous

The House of Intellect by Jacques Barzun (Harper, $1.75). A witty, disturbing and salutary examination of the abuses of intellectuals and cultured groups generally in democratic societies, particularly American.

May Man Prevail? An Inquiry into the Facts and Fictions of Foreign Policy by Erich Fromm (Anchor, 95c). Proposes to save the peace and mankind by an understanding with Russia, which he insists we misunderstand; and by freshly conceived programs based on our traditional humanism, individualism and anti-colonialism.

Gallery Editions, a new series of picture books by Bantam at $1.25, is of only pocket size but within that limit very well reproduced. *The Civil War as They Knew It* includes more than 100 photographs, largely Brady's, with captions by Pierce G. Fredericks which rapidly sketch the history. *Japan* uses photographs by Werner Bischoff and an introductory essay by Robert Guillain, both sensitive and knowledgeable.

The Doctor Business by Richard Carter (Dolphin, 95c). A helpful, sometimes heated, examination of the problems of medical costs, revised to cover developments since the 1958 edition. See *The Nation*, January 3, 1959.

Trollope, a Commentary by Michael Sadleir (Oxford, $2.50). The warm and thorough Life, in the 1944 revision but without A. Edward Newton's introduction, which in the twenties helped consolidate the revival of Trollope and Barset.

Bel-Ami by Guy de Maupassant, H. N. P. Sloman, translator (Penguin, 95c). A biting depiction of Parisian life in the 1880s, structurally weak but perhaps Maupassant's best novel. In a lively new version.

Satirical Sketches by Lucian, Paul Turner, translator (Penguin, 95c). Colloquial translation of two dozen of Lucian's whimsical, mocking, satirical pieces from the time of Marcus Aurelius, discreetly and well annotated.

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RECORDS of the YEAR

Lester Trimble

Listed below are records of particular interest and quality that have been issued during the year. Regular long-playing records are marked (LP); Stereophonic sound is indicated by (SD).

BACH: Organ Works. *Toccata and Fugue in D minor*, S. 565; *Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor*, S. 582; *Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C*, S. 564; *Fugues: in G minor*, S. 578; *in G*, S. 577. E. Power Biggs, organ. Columbia ML-5661 (LP), MS-6261 (SD).

Brandenburg Concerti: (complete). Festival Strings Lucerne, Rudolf Baumgartner, conducting. Archive ARC-3156/57. (Two LP.) ARC-73156/57. (Two SD.)

BARBER: *Symphony No. 1, Op. 9*; *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 14*. Japan Philharmonic Orchestra, William Strickland, conducting (in the symphony); Wolfgang Stavonhagen, violin, Imperial Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of Tokyo, William Strickland, conducting (in the concerto). Composers Recordings CRI-137 (LP).

BARTOK: *Concertos for Piano and Orchestra Nos. 2 and 3*. Géza Anda, piano; Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra, Ferenc Fricsay, conducting. Deutsche Grammophon LMP-18611 (LP), SLPM-138111 (SD). *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra No. 1*; *Rhapsody for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 1*. György Sandor, piano; Symphony Orchestra of the Southwest German radio, Rolf Reinhardt, conducting. Vox PL-11350 (LP), STPL-511350 (SD).

BEETHOVEN: *Symphonies No. 1 and No. 8*. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Pierre Monteux, conducting. RCA Victor LM-2491 (LP), LSC-2491 (SD). *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra*. Yehudi Menuhin, violin; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Constantin Silvestri, conducting. Capitol G-7229 (LP), SG-7229 (SD).

BERG: *Three Pieces for Orchestra, Op. 6*; Schoenberg: *Begleitungsmusik, Op. 34*; Webern: *Six Pieces for Orchestra, Op. 6*. Columbia Symphony Orchestra, Robert Craft, conducting. Columbia ML-5616 (LP), MS-6216 (SD). *Concerto for Violin, Piano, and Thirteen Wind Instruments; Four Songs, Op. 2; Seven Early Songs*. Ivry Gitlis, violin; Charlotte Zelka, piano; Vien-

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nese Wind Ensemble, Harold Byrns, conducting (in the concerto); Catherine Rowe, soprano; Benjamin Tupas, piano (in the songs). Lyrichord LL-94 (LP).

BRAHMS: *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, No. 2, in B flat, Op. 83.* Sviatoslav Richter, piano; Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Erich Leinsdorf, conducting. RCA Victor LM-2466 (LP), LSC-2466 (SD). *Serenade No. 1 in D, Op. 11.* Symphony of the Air, Leopold Stokowski, conducting. Decca DL-10031 (LP), DL-710031 (SD). *Symphony No. 1.* New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, conducting. Columbia ML-5602 (LP), MS-6202 (SD).

ELLIOTT CARTER: *Quartet for Strings No. 2;* William Schuman: *Quartet for Strings No. 3.* Juilliard String Quartet. RCA Victor LM-2481 (LP).

AARON COPLAND: *Billy the Kid; Rodeo.* New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, conducting. Columbia ML-5575 (LP), MS-6175 (SD).

ELGAR: *Enigma Variations, Op. 36;* Brahms: *Variations on a Theme of Haydn, Op. 56a.* London Symphony Orchestra, Pierre Monteux, conducting. RCA Victor LM-2418 (LP), LSC-2418 (SD).

ENESCO: *Rumanian Rhapsodies, Op. 11: No. 1 in A; No. 2 in D.* Liszt: *Hungarian Rhapsodies: No. 2 in D minor; No. 3 in D.* London Symphony Orchestra, Antal Dorati, conducting. Mercury MG-50235 (LP), SR-90235 (SD).

FAURE: Songs *(La Bonne Chanson, Op. 61; Poème d'un jour, Op. 21; Chanson du pêcheur; Les Berceaux; Aurore; Soir; Le Parfum impérissable; Le Don silencieux; Le Secret; Fleur jetée).* Gerard Souzay, baritone, Dalton Baldwin, piano. Epic LC-3764 (LP), BC-1122 (SD).

HINDEMITH: *Three Sonatas for Organ.* E. Power Biggs, organ. Columbia ML-5634 (LP), MS-6234 (SD). *Sonata for Piano, No. 3.* Barber: *Four Excursions.* Martin: *Prelude No. 7.* André Previn, piano. Columbia ML-5639 (LP), MS-6239 (SD).

HARRISON KERR: *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra.* Cowell: *Symphony No. 7.* Wolfgang Stavonhagen, violin; Imperial Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of Tokyo (in the Kerr); Vienna Symphony Orchestra (in the Cowell). William Strickland, conducting. Composers Recordings CRI-142 (LP).

MOZART: *Sinfonia Concertante for Violin, Viola and Orchestra in E flat,* K. 364; *Adagio for Violin and Orchestra in E,* K. 261; *Rondo for Violin and Orchestra in C,* K. 373. Joseph Fuchs, violin; Lillian Fuchs, viola; Aeterna Chamber Orchestra, Frederick Waldman, conducting. Decca DL-10037 (LP), DL-710037 (SD).

PROKOFIEFF: *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, No. 3, Op. 26.* MacDowell: *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, No. 2, in D minor, Op. 23.* Van Cliburn, piano; Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Walter Hendl, conducting. RCA Victor LM-2507 (LP), LSC-2507 (SD). *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, No. 3, in C, Op. 26.* Ravel: *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in D* (for the left hand). John Browning, piano. Philharmonic Orchestra, Erich Leinsdorf, conducting. Capitol P-8545 (LP), SP-8545 (SD).

SCARLATTI: *Sonatas for Harpsichord.* Wanda Landowska, harpsichord. Angel COLH-73 (LP).

WILLIAM SCHUMAN: *Symphony No. 3.* New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, conducting. Columbia ML-5645 (LP), MS-6245 (SD).

RALPH SHAPEY: *Evocation.* Yehudi Wyner: *Serenade for Seven Instruments.* Matthew Raimondi, violin; Yehudi Wyner, piano; Paul Price, percussion (in the Shapey); Chamber Ensemble conducted by Werner Torkanowsky (in the Wyner). Composers Recordings CRI-141 (LP).

STRAVINSKY: *Pétrouchka; The Rite of Spring.* Columbia Symphony Orchestra, Igor Stravinsky, conducting. Columbia D3L-300. (Three LP.) D3S-614. (Three SD.) *Symphony in C; Symphony in Three Movements.* Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, Ernest Ansermet, conducting. London CM-9520 (LP), CS-6190 (SD).

RANDALL THOMPSON: *The Peaceable Kingdom; Allelujah.* McAfee: *A Prayer of St. Francis.* Weiss: *I Am the People.* The Singing City (Philadelphia), Elaine Brown, conducting. Mail order to The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York.

VIRGIL THOMSON: *The Plow that Broke the Plains:* Suite. *The River:* Suite. Symphony of the Air, Leopold Stokowski, conducting. Vanguard VRS-1071 (LP), VSD-2095 (SD).

VIVALDI: *Concertos for Two Violins and Orchestra in D minor,* P. 281; *C minor,* P. 436; *G minor,* P. 366; *D,* P. 189. Isaac Stern, David Oistrakh, violins. Members of the Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy, conducting. Columbia ML-5604 (LP), MS-6204 (SD).

WILLIAM WALTON: *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra.* Lalo: *Symphonie espagnole, Op. 21.* Zino Francescatti, violin; Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy, conducting (in the Walton). New York Philharmonic, Dimitri Mitropoulos, conducting (in the Lalo). Columbia ML-5601 (LP), MS-6201 (SD).

Note: Lester Trimble's *Four Fragments from the Caunterbury Tales* has been recorded by Adele Addison, soprano; Robert Conant, harpsichord; Charles Russo, clarinet; Martin Orenstein, flute. It is released with *Nine Epitaphs* by Theodore Chanler: Phyllis Curtin, soprano; F. Ryan Edwards, piano. Columbia ML-5598 (LP), MS-6198 (SD).

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THEATRE

Harold Clurman

NOT having read Morris L. West's novel *Daughter of Silence*, I cannot say what "point" it makes. I am in no happier state about the play he has adapted from his novel (Music Box). It is certainly an earnest effort, and its material promises complex as well as colorful drama. Yet the play created no positive impression on me.

The plot deals with the assassination of Rosati, the mayor of a small Italian town, by a girl of eighteen, Anna Albertini. At the time when the Fascists and Nazis were being driven out of Italy, Rosati had been leader of a band of Partisans; he took advantage of his position to satisfy both his sadism and lechery. Among his victims was Anna's mother, whom he raped and then had put to death as a spy. Anna witnessed the rape. Mentally maimed by this experience, she swore the vengeance which led to the killing ten years later.

Anna is defended by Carlo, a young lawyer who has his own troubles. He is the son-in-law of Ascolini, a wealthy and famous jurist, native to the small town whose mayor has been shot. Carlo has been Ascolini's devoted assistant, but under that strong man's domination he has hardly been able to mature. Valeria, Ascolini's daughter, deprived in Carlo of a self-assured and firm husband, has become a dissatisfied and unfaithful wife.

THE greater part of the play is given over to Anna Albertini's trial. During this we learn the sorry facts which have led to the crime. We also see Carlo's personal progress. Under pressure, he proves himself a brilliant lawyer and a brave man. Valeria now finds herself compelled by her husband's eloquent and forceful sincerity. Ascolini who had hitherto been contemptuous of his son-in-law now begins to respect him. Carlo's pity for Anna develops into attraction, and her dependence on him becomes a fixation resembling love.

When the facts of Anna's past have been unraveled, Rosati's assassination is judged a homicide, and his killer is committed to three years of institutional surveillance. It would seem that Carlo's feeling for the girl, and her attachment to him, might flower into a "romance." But at the last moment we find that she identifies him — as she would any man who might arouse desire in her — with the rapist responsible for her mother's death. Insane, she turns against Carlo, in murderous hate. The indication is that Carlo and Valeria may become reconciled.

I HAVE said I was not sure of the playwright's purpose. It may be that he wishes to demonstrate the awful consequences of silence and inaction in regard to wickedness—since Anna's crime might have been avoided if those who knew its cause at the outset had had the courage to denounce Rosati. It is much more likely that the play purports to show the mysterious ways in which God moves. For each of the three protagonists — Carlo, Valeria, Ascolini — there is a growth in, and an amelioration of, their destiny through the trial. It may also be that a distinction is being drawn in regard to law, justice and the dark truths of the human soul. The strict interpretation of the law would have had Anna sentenced to life imprisonment; justice demands that she be saved from punishment and given medical assistance, while something in the play's denouement suggests that the evil done Anna could not simply be erased but left its indelible imprint on her so that she — though herself not blameworthy—becomes the carrier of evil.

The fact that the play's point seems unclear need not in itself be regarded as a major fault. Many masterpieces have no *exact* meaning. The play fails to convince because its wholly literate writing is unfelt, bloodless. The characters speak as if someone were explaining them, not as if they were animated by their own impulses. This is deadly in a realistic play; in a "stylized" (a poetic) play the writer's fire kindles life in the characters, so that even when they speak with their creator's voice they take on the passion he has lent them — and we are moved. This does not happen in *Daughter of Silence*.

In addition to this irredeemable flaw, the play is unfortunate in its production. It is crippled by a set in which the design for the prologue — lasting five minutes — cramps the floor space for the rest of the play. Emlyn Williams, an excellent actor (particularly in character roles), cannot possibly convince us that he is an intellectual born of poor Italian peasantry. There are other good actors in the cast but they do not suit one another, either because of too marked a disparity in personality or style, or because they have been made tense by direction which in one way or another frustrates them.

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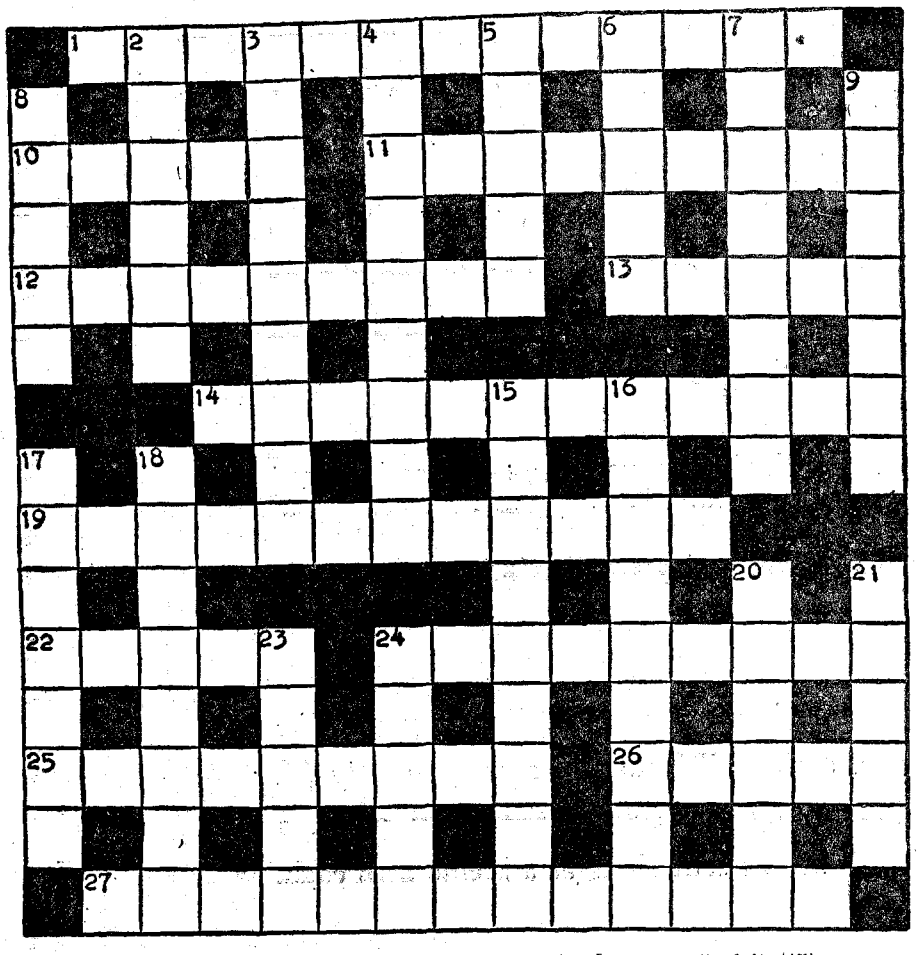
Crossword Puzzle No. 941

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 The sort of person in tangled net-cord who might have a by-line. (13)
10 He should have been a powerful painter. (5)
11 Sort of pastry resin yielding something pertaining to a bishop. (9)
12 If one does, one sits warily perhaps, but prevails. (9)
13 Might be equivalent to a mixture of oils, thus proceeding to and fro about a number of them. (5)
14 Parallel information found here. (7, 5)
19 Should a tug-master be able to, where the landing is okayed? (7, 5)
22 Not quite disinclined, as one alleges. (5)
24 With regard to heavenly bodies, is the ship clear? (9)
25 As one might make objection to the reverse measure in modification? (9)
26 Intends to express considerable resources. (5)
27 Mister Green is a rather poor subject for an opera! (13)

DOWN:

2 Certainly not an inner circle at first! (6)
3 Not where the water may have gone when the river rose. (9)
4 An old boat where the German admiral might get to live. (9)
5 Moist leaves out of it. (5)
6 Avoids responsibility for clothes of heavy fabric. (5)
7 Article raised on a staff on a gold coin. (8)
8 Faint suggestion of what might be pitched in two directions. (5)
9 Ran away around the tree, as lightning might have. (7)
15 In cog? No! (9)
16 It's the same stern old hand at the wheel! (9)
17 One might the ticket or the horse, starting without penalty. (7)
18 Sounds as though a confirmed woman-hater might be to precede thus. (8)
20 A predicament to 17. (6)
21 Bored by this sort of black fur? (5)
23 Herrick's Julia evidently went in them. (5)
24 What the barber might do in 27. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 940

ACROSS: 1 Changeless; 10 Satinet; 11 Pliable; 12 Scotland; 13 Event; 15 Indus; 17 Generator; 19 Gerfalcon; 21 Evert; 23 Error; 24 Freehand; 27 Dudgeon; 28 Ignoble; 30 Consistent.

DOWN: 1 and 6 Casemate; 2 Antacid; 3 Genet; 4 Lethargic; 5 Sapid; 7 Ambient; 8 Electorate; 9 Pine tree; 14 Ringleader; 16 Sea green; 18 Nunneries; 20 Reredos; 22 Ennoble; 24 Fungo; 25 Hones; 26 and 29 Heat rash.

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